The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 12 February 1984
Twenty-third year - No. 1120 - By air

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

Alliance has lesson to be learnt

DIE WELT

East-West dialogue is again getting under way: there is the Stockholm conference, Mrs Thatcher's visit to Hungary, and the proposed visit to Bonn of the East Berlin leader, Herr Honecker.

Rumania's special foreign policy role in the Soviet Bloc has been demonstrated yet again and it has been agreed to resume the Vienna MBFR troop-cut talks next month.

There is hob-nobbing between America and Russia on resuming the missile talks.

Europeans are looking at all this with satisfaction. And that is reason for alarm. It shows that America's European allies have reached no conclusions from what has happened over the past decade and a half.

Europeans should have concluded that a schism between America and Europe is so much to Moscow's advantage that it need not seriously try and reach a detente with the United States.

So what is even more important than talks with Moscow is agreement between Europeans and Americans on how to assess the Soviet Union.

What the American-European schism is to be taken to mean is outlined with analytical precision by Professor Werner Kaltefleiter in the *Moderne Welt* 1983 East-West affairs annual, published by Markus Verlag, Cologne.

The cause of misunderstanding between Europeans and Americans, he writes, is a difference in assessment of the Soviet Union.

The Europeans see it mainly as a continental power and neighbour. Motivated by the painful experience of the division of Europe, best exemplified by the open wound of the division of Germany, they have sought by means of Willy Brandt's East Bloc treaties to establish a special treaty area of Europe as an island of assured detente. Its protection is to continue to be the responsibility of the United States but there will still be a regional turning toward the Soviet Union. The universal implication is that the Kremlin has the same views on peace and cooperation as prevail in the capital cities of Western Europe.

This is the view the Europeans would like to retain in spite of all the tough lessons they have had occasion to learn since the early 1970s.

They flatly refuse to acknowledge that Washington takes an entirely different view and is bound to do so. It is not just because the United States is at loggerheads with Moscow worldwide but also because the Soviet Union has established facts that clearly show it to be offensive and aggressive.

What that Europeans have taken (and continue to take) to be detente proves on closer scrutiny to be the exploitation by Moscow of a period of domestic weakness in the United States.

Professor Kaltefleiter notes that Washington's moves were motivated less by an American detente concept than by fears of being unable to keep up the pace of the arms race under the pressure of domestic opposition to the Vietnam war and in view of the Watergate affair.

That was why the Carter administration was even prepared to limit arms with unbalanced treaties.

It took Ronald Reagan to end the period of weakness and herald a change to recollection of America's intrinsic strength.

It is a strength that is increasingly underpinned by economic recovery yet only partly enforceable in foreign affairs because defence programmes, for financial and budgetary reasons, are trailing behind planning.

This state of affairs accounts for the political importance of Nato's missile deployment in Europe.

Historical mention must be made of the fact that President Nixon and Mr Brezhnev did embark on a bid to bring about genuine detente, but the attempt ended in deep disappointment.

The bid peaked in 1972 with the joint Moscow summit proclamation on the basis of relations between the superpowers, aimed at a common code of behaviour to prevent nuclear warfare

Moscow dealt this so far unique experiment in peace in world affairs a lethal twofold blow in 1973.

In the Yom Kippur War, which Egypt and Syria could never have waged against Israel without the massive arms build-up and backing of the Soviet Union, the Kremlin forced the clash with Washington to the point at which strategic nuclear forces were put on standby.

In January 1973 an armistice agreement was signed in Paris to end the Vietnam War and enable the Americans to withdraw drom Vietnam.

Washington's expectation that Moscow would exercise a moderating influence on Hanoi was mistaken, as Professor Kaltefleiter also points out.

Later that year North Vietnamese forces invaded South Vietnam and Laos and the Khmers Rouges invaded Cambodia.

Further proxy wars followed, marking the global expansion of the Soviet Union: in Mozambique, Angola, South Yemen and Ethiopia.

But the crucial event for Washington was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of 1979. It was the first time since the Second World War that the Soviet Union itself occupied a country that hadn't previous formed part of its sphere of influence.

This fact makes the fate of Afghanistan even more serious in its political ramifications that the Polish tragedy.

Failure of the East-West dialogue that is getting under way again is a foregone conclusion unless the American-European schism is ended in time.

An even more urgent necessity than talks with Moscow is agreement between Europeans and Americans on a joint assessment of the Soviet Union.

The facts speak a clear language of their own. *Wilfried Hertz-Eichenrode*

(Die Welt, 4 February 1984)

IN THIS ISSUE

Faces at the window

Same outlook? Chancellor Kohl (left) and President Mitterrand certainly had at this particuler moment at the window of the Villa Ludwigshöhe, near the Palatinate town of Edenkoben, where they discussed controversial EEC issues. With them is an interpreter. (Photo: Barbara Klemm)



End of a chapter? Or?

Chancellor Helmut Kohl (left) with his Defence Minister, Manfred Wörner. The Chancellor has decided not to accept Wörner's offer of resignation over the case of General Günter Kiessling, who has been reinstated. Full reports page 3. (Photo: dpa)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Yugoslavia's bid to loosen the shackles

Four years after Tito's death the Yugoslav Communists are evidently in the process of breaking the narrow ideological bounds imposed on them by the former partisan leader.

They are not charging ahead; it would be more accurate to say they are hesitantly feeling their way. The cumbersome machinery of government has a braking effect, as reports of police and court repression show.

But there are also an increasing number of pointers that make one sit up and think, such as comments by leading intellectuals and public criticism of leading officials and members of government.

Interior Minister Stane Dolanc created a sensation at the begining of January when he warned the security service in Skoplje not to see itself as a political police and intervene in matters that were none of its business.

It was up to social organisations and self-administration bodies, and not to members of the security service, to deal with opposing views and ideas, he said.

These are unaccustomed words for a Communist country. Both the Warsaw Pact states and other countries that call themselves socialist back up their rule in the name of the proletariat with the aid of a police machinery the main aim of which is to identify and suppress opposition.

The powers that be don't feel safe from the proletariat, always assuming the concept is still applicable as defined by Marx.

Michael S. Voslensky, a critic of the Soviet system who has lived in the Federal Republic of Germany since 1972, has this to say about the structure of Communist rule: "A police state is a state with a powerful political secret police who hunt not robbers and murderers but dissidents. There are a great many policemen in this category in the Soviet Union, and they are carefully trained and equipped."

The police state is not a Soviet speciality. It is characteristic of all countries where Marxist-Leninist parties are in power. "Every dictatorship," he says, "is a police state."

This characterisation also applies to countries that did not follow in the wake of Stalinism, as Milovan Djilas, the Yugoslav theoretician and former comrade-in-arms of Tito pointed out in his spectacular 1957 book *The New Class.*

He aimed at the powers that be a mirror showing them the grey reality, not their florid speeches, and his findings on the legal system were devastating: "Regardless of the laws, everyone knows that power is exercised by the Party committees and the secret police... No law entitles and the secret police to spy on the public, but the police are all-powerful.

"No law lays down that the courts and public prosecutors must be controlled by the secret police and the Party committees, but that is the case."

Publication of this massive criticism of the system, culminating in the assertion that Communist states had established not a classless society but a new privileged class, earned Djilas several years in jail.

To this day that hasn't stopped Djilas from dealing critically in his writings with socialism as it really exists and its Eurocommunist offshoots.

Djilas' books may not yet be in print in Yugoslavia, but his ideas are known. Intentionally or unintentionally, even high-ranking Yugoslav officials are now attacking shortcomings he exposed decades ago.

The only difference is that decades ago the general public failed to realise as clearly as they do today how inefficient the Communist system of planning is, including its Yugoslav self-administration version.

Inefficient, that is, in comparison with capitalism, which propaganda portrayed as being a historically superseded social order at its last gasp.

It has since been realised in Yugoslavia and elsewhere that the Marxist-Leninist ideology is not a suitable means of developing productive forces to the full.

In practice, too, Communism need by no means represent what Marx called the transition from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.

Marxism is no longer a conceivable alternative, the principle of hope. Stalin, Gulag, dogmatism, hostility toward innovation, bureaucratisation and in part militarisation have led it down a blind alley.

Stane Dolanc's reprimand of the security service is probably an expression of growing desire among Yugoslav

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Communist leaders to reform the country's economic and social framework.

There can be no doubt that Yugoslav leaders have lately been thinking aloud on the subject, and in a manner so radical as to have been unthinkable a few years ago.

Statements are even issued by theoreticians who, like the members of the Praxis group, were expelled from university on account of their critical attitude.

Aleksandar Grlickov, who under Tito was responsible for relations with other Communist Parties, has arguably gone furthest so far, publicly stating that the theory developed by Marx in the 19th century was unable to give satisfactory answers to 20th and 21st century questions.

In much the same way as Djilas, who began to oppose dogmatism 30 years ago, Grlickov now reaches the conclusion that ideology has hampered thought.

This line of argument is echoed by Mitja Ribicic of the presidium of the Yugoslav Communist Party, who has complained in *Borba*, the Party newspaper, tht critical views voiced in discussions and debates have failed to make headway in Party work.

Given the imminent and far-reaching economic and social reforms, he argued, there must be radical changes in the work of Party bodies and individual members.

Yugoslavia's leaders are on the move and in the process of superseding Tito, who a few years ago was regarded as an indispensable factor for integration.

Whether the reform will result in an intellectual climate in which there really is a place for critics such as Djilas will depend on whether the leadership succeeds in ensuring legal safeguards and ending the arbitrary activities of the security service.

Until clear proof is available, doubts as to whether the attempt will succeed are warranted.

Wolfang Schmieg

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 30 January 1984)

The delicate balance of North African stability

When people take to the streets in protest in the Maghreb and police and the army open fire on demonstrators in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, there is alarm in Washington, Western Europe and Moscow.

Both the superpowers and the former colonial rulers, France and Spain, want stability in the countries of North Africa.

For the past seven years war has been waged in the Western Sahara between Morocco and the Algerian-backed Polisario liberation movement.

Because of balanced foreign backing the fronts have long been stable and the position of the warring parties has been evenly balanced.

But stability is jeopardised in few parts of the world as seriously as it is in the Maghreb, especially in Morocco.

Days after the bread price rise riots in Tunisia tens of thousands of Moroccans took to the streets and destroyed the symbols of luxury and wealth.

Habib Bourguiba, the aged Tunisian head of state, felt he had no option but to cancel 100-per-cent increases in the price of basic foods.

King Hassan of Morocco undertook not to increase the prices of a number of basic foods.

President Bourguiba in his customary paternalistic manner advised his excited fellow-countrymen to observe peace and quiet and have confidence in his leadership. King Hassan's reaction was to issue threats.

Most demonstrators in both countries took to the streets out of hunger pure and simple. Economic and social conditions are extremely difficult.

Nearly 10 million Moroccans don't know at night whether they are going to have anything to eat the next day.

Political groups will doubtless have helped to organise the unrest and start the ball rolling that went on to assume avalanche proportions.

But they were only a tiny minority of the hungry masses.

Expensive war

Morocco and Tunisia, both pro-Western, are poorer than either Algeria or Libya. Morocco, America's closest ally in North Africa, is also waging a fairly pointless war in the West Sahara that is costing a third of the country's budget.

In normal circumstances Morocco cannot win the war on Polisario, but to forgo taking over the former Spanish colony could plunge King Hassan into serious domestic difficulties and maybe even cost him his throne.

No Western government is in favour of a change of government in Rabat because no-one knows what might come after King Hassan.

Political parties in Morocco are weak and the number of secret mosques where Islamic fundamentalists meet is on the increase.

If social protest and religious fanaticism join forces any more closely Hassan's kingdom could become the powder-keg of North Africa.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Algeria, where there is even less freedom than in its neighbouring countries and controls are even stricter, appears to be more stable than either Tunisia or Morocco.

But Algeria too underwent bloodshed and unrest in 1981 in areas populated by Berber tribesmen.

President Benjedid Shadli has reacted more flexibly to opposition tendencies including Islamic fundamentalism, than his predecessor, M. Boumediene.

He is also doing all he can to avoid jeopardising normal relations with the countries of Western Europe. Economically, Algeria remains dependent on the West.

Social conflict is less crass than in Tunisia or Morocco, and the country is richer. The two peripheral states of the Maghreb, affluent Libya and poor Mauretania, further emphasise the economic distinctions between countries in the region.

Economic differences make agreement between the five countries more difficult; so do contrasting interests.

Efforts by President Bourguiba to unify the Maghreb met with universal rhetorical backing, followed by mistrust and hate-filled attacks.

In Morocco the Algerians are accused of laying claim to hegemony. Increasingly cordial ties between Tunis and Algiers have prompted Col. Gaddafi of Libya to set aside his old arguments with King Hassan of Morocco.

Morocco is even trying to improve relations with Mauretania, which it accused of treachery in connection with the Sahara war.

In the Sahara war Algeria and Mauretania are on the same side, opposing Morocco, whereas Tunisia is neutral but cautiously sympathetic toward Morocco and Libya may be in the process of switching sides.

The West can lend a helping hand in the struggle against economic decline and growing food shortages in the Maghreb. It could urge local governments to make social improvements which Tunisia for one would be happy to do.

Once the number of Moroccans and Tunisians living in hardship and poverty is no longer so large, religious fanatics whether backed by Iran or by Libya, will find it harder to enlist support.

Walter Haubrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 February 1984)

The German Tribune
Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene Aussicht, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel. 22 85 1, Telex 02-14733.
Editor-in-chief Otto Heinz. Editor Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor Simon Burnett. — Distribution manager Georgine Picone
Advertising rates list No 15
Annual subscription DM 45
Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck Hameln
Distributed in the USA by MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street New York, N.Y. 10011
All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprints are published in cooperation with the editorial staffs of leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. They are complete translations of the original text.
In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper between asterisks, above your address

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Kiessling reinstated: Defence Minister Wörner stays

General Günter Kiessling has been reinstated. He was sacked by Defence Minister Manfred Wörner in December on security grounds. It was alleged that he had been frequenting homosexual bars in Cologne. But Herr Wörner has now admitted that mistakes were made. He has offered to resign, but Chancellor Kohl has rejected the offer.

The Kiessling Affair is far from over. An inquiry committee will keep it on the boil, despite the fact that such committees have rarely been known to embarrass a government.

What really matters is the fact that the Bundeswehr and the Chancellor have come badly out of the affair and the manner in which it was closed.

It is not sensible, of course, to call for a minister's resignation at the first sign of a mistake. If this were done, Germany would soon find itself without ministers. Political consequences make sense only if there is evidence of failure by the politician.

But in this case, the Minister himself has made one mistake after another.

His very first decision to declare the general a security risk gives rise to the question whether he was infected by the hysteria of the military counterintelligence service (MAD). This could still be pardonable.

But the subsequent ineptitude in the handling of the matter, culminating in the reckless discussion with the Swiss homosexual Ziegler, showed that the Minister had apparently lost control over the issue.

Why did Wörner not stop the hounding of the general and rehabilitate him — as best he could — once the web of charges against him had collapsed?

Why did he wait until the Chancellor forced him to act?

Is a Defence Minister not discredited if he can stay in office only on the condition that he comes to an honourable arrangement with his victim, thus for a moment putting his own fate into the general's hands?

This is a serious question: Can a Defence Minister with a tarnished image still summon the energy it takes to head one of Bonn's most difficult ministries?

Does he still have the moral authority needed to carry out the necessary changes in his own ministry and in MAD?

Will the Bundeswehr not look down on him as a man who lost his nerve in a critical situation?

The Bundeswehr has also not come out of the affair unscathed. The offhanded way in which General Kiessling's name has been tarnished — if not by Wörner himself then certainly by those around him — is bound to fuel public mistrust of the Bundeswehr.

And many a Bundeswehr member is bound to wonder whether the same thing can happen to him. Though this is probably unlikely, the question remains.

The government and the Chancellor have also been damaged. They have come up with some successes, but the affairs are a heavy liability. This raises the question as to why the Chancellor decided to hold on to Wörner despite his impaired authority in the Bundeswehr and elsewhere.

True, Manfred Wörner is knowledgeable and committed. He cut a fine figure before the affair and had a stabilising effect on the previously unsettled armed forces.

But the "post-affair" Wörner is not the Wörner who came to office in 1982. Kohl, a man with considerable political instinct, knows this.

Why has Kohl kept him?

For one thing, there is nobody to take Wörner's place. Of possible successors: Alfred Dregger is needed and irreplaceable as floor leader in the Bundestag; Alois Mertes is a knowledgeable foreign policy maker, but it is hard to imagine him at the head of a huge administrative setup; Walter Wallmann has to defend Frankfurt against the SPD's offensive in municipal politics.

What about Franz Josef Strauss? This is another explanation for Kohl's hesitation. As Strauss himself said, he would have taken on the post if drafted. But Kohl does not want him in his cabinet.

Moreover, giving Strauss the defence portfolio would have meant a complete Cabinet reshuffle because the CSU already holds five portfolios and is not entitled to a sixth.

The third explanation for Kohl's action is Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff.

If the Chancellor had dismissed Wörner he would have come under heavy pressure to dismiss Lambsdorff as well, and that would have been impossible in the face of stiff FDP opposition.

So Wörner remained in office as the lesser evil.

The fact that Kohl's scope for action was limited won't do him any good.

In the months to come, he will have to live with the fact that one of his most important ministries is headed by a man who is a liability.

He will be charged with not having really mastered the government crisis, and this will weaken his authority.

The Wörner affair has turned into a risk factor for Kohl.

Thomas Löffelholz

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 2 February 1984)

Kohl manages to handle tough situation

Chancellor Helmut Kohl is sure to live down both the laughter that accompanied his press conference and the Opposition's stiff criticism of his handling of the Wörner/Kiessling affair.

His enviably relaxed personality usually helps him cope with difficult and embarrassing situations.

His attitude is that time heals all wounds.

Edmund Stoiber, head of the Bavarian State Chancellery, has said that his party, the CSU, will back the Chancellor's decision not to sack Wörner. But there is an unmistakeable air of aloofness.

He said that his party had made different suggestions for fear that Kohl's handling of the affair would not close the matter.

Acting CSU general-secretary Gerold Tandler said much the same. Franz Josef Strauss keeps enigmatically silent.

FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher called Kohl's decision responsible and well thought out. But left wing FDP MPs disagree.

Hildegard Hamm-Brücher criticised the way in which the affair was swept under the carpet.

Burkard Hirsch thinks that a minister must take political responsibility for the mistakes made by his ministry.

Decisions by the Chancellor that cause so much unease even among coalition ranks can hardly be the ultimate in wisdom.

Rainer Nahrendorf

(Handelsblatt, 3 February, 1984)

Grateful thanks for the Press

Günter Kiessling has thanked the whole of the German press for its support.

In an exclusive interview to the Cologne daily *Express* he said:

"I have had many painful experiences in the past few weeks; but I also learned a lot. I'm now more than ever convinced of the importance of a free press in a democracy.

"It made me happy to see that our press is not after cheap headlines but after the truth. Without this press, my rehabilitation could have taken years."

To start with, the general wants to get away from it all.

He is due to return to the Bundeswehr Hospital in Munich for long overdue surgery.

There can be no question of his resuming his post as a deputy Nato commander in Brussels.

Following his retirement with full military honours on 31 March, as agreed between him and Defence Minister Wörner, the general will seek a university post.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 February 1984)

General Kiessling ... will seek university post. (Photo: dpa)

The career of a four-star general

Four star General Günter Kiessling, 58, was only 14 when he joined an NCO school of the Wehrmacht in 1939.

At the end of the war, he was a lieutenant in an infantry regiment.

He attended night courses and obtained his high school diploma in 1947. He went to university and earned a doctorate in economics.

He joined the Federal border police and in 1956 he transferred to the Bundeswehr, initially serving as an assistant in the Defence Ministry.

After a stint as company commander, he attended a staff officers' course until 1963 and was then appointed staff officer at the Northag Nato Command in Mönchengladbach.

This was followed by the appointment as commander of an armoured battalion.

He was later promoted to head an armoured brigade and, on 1 October 1971, became one of the Bundeswehr's youngest generals. He was put in charge of the Army's general education and training system in Cologne.

Among his functions was the supervision of officers' schools.

When he was promoted to major general in 1976 he was given command of an armoured division.

In October 1979, he was promoted to lieutenant general and appointed commander of the Allied Land Forces in Schleswig-Holstein and Jütland.

He became a deputy Nato commander for Europe on 1 April 1982.

dpa

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 2 February 1984)

Aftermath: first head rolls

The first head has rolled as a result of the Kiessling Affair. Joachim Hiehle, a state secretary at the Defence Ministry, has been retired early.

Chancellor Kohl had hinted that there could be sackings at some stage. Speculation is strong that another to go might be General Behrendt, the head of MAD, the counter intelligence service.

In a letter he sent to General Kiessling, Wörner said both presented evidence about Kiessling that could not be substantiated.

Chancellor Kohl has criticised the controversial meeting between Wörner and the head of the Chancellery, Schreckenberger, at which questionable homosexual witnesses were present.

Though the Chancellor said that Schreckenberger had acted absolutely correctly by keeping himself informed and then leaving the meeting, he nevertheless said it was an "unfortunate business."

He has rejected a major cabinet reshuffle as demanded by the Bavarian Prime Minister and CSU leader, Franz Josef Strauss.

He also said that the CSU had not suggested Wörner's dismissal. He had repeatedly been advised to use his own discretion in the matter.

The Chancellor said the his government "rests on an extremely sound foundation" and that it "has been unusually successful," as shown by opinion polls.

Kohl said General Kiessling will get his expenses paid, especially his lawyer's bill. No compensation for mental anguish has been agreed.

Only MP Paul Mikat (CDU) was mentioned by name as one of the "many people who have assisted me in this matter."

Claus Wettermann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 February 1984)

■ THE PARTIES

Search for new answers to new economic issues

Both major political parties in the Federal Republic, the Christian and Social Democrats, are on the lookout for new ideas in economic policy.

Both have set up policy commissions to submit proposals to the next party conference. In both cases the objectives are similar.

Their aim is to rectify the vague and partly contradictory image created by economic policy pronouncements and to adapt them to changing circumstances.

In the CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler is in charge of an adjustment of the social free-market economy to meet the challenge of the electronic age.

The SPD, under the chairmanship of Herbert Ehrenberg, is trying to hive off ideological ballast accumulated in recent years and to arrive, in an action programme, at more practical answers to the economic issues of the day.

Both parties are clearly finding the going tough, which is hardly surprising. Widely-based popular parties, being parties that aim to represent the whole people and not just one class or interest, are less monolithic than ever.

They have even fewer signs of a single basic pattern of convictions. The CDU and the SPD are varied birds with many-coloured plumage, especially where economic and social policy issues are concerned.

The CDU may still see itself as a staunch supporter of the free-market economy, but its regional leaders have a wide range of different ideas on how structural change can best be accomplished.

Baden-Württemberg Prime Minister Lothar Späth, for instance, favours state backing on a large scale to promote high tech.

Ernst Albrecht, Prime Minister of Lower Saxony, has on several occasions said he is convinced conventional economic policies can only cope to a limited extent with structural change.

The SPD has it easier in one way and harder in another. Life is easier for the Social Democrats inasmuch as they are no longer in power in Bonn and can take their time working out the details of a new manifesto in Opposition.

But they have a harder time of it than the Christian Democrats inasmuch as the confusion in their ranks in greater and a wider range of views is represented in the SPD.

Some Social Democrats are free-market economists, others Marxist in outlook. Some are level-headed pragmatists like the backbenchers led by Egon Franke, others left-wing ideologists like Peter Conradi.

Some regret the passing of the Godesberg manifesto, others would soonest be seen as ecologists.

Has not SPD leader Willy Brandt long proclaimed that the "new" SPD must be more on the side of the Greens than in the tradition of the working-class movement in its voter appeal?

Others, such as Wolfgang Roth, the former leader of the Jungsozialisten, who now rules the roost as economic policy spokesman for the parliamentary party, cannot clearly be allocated to any particular wing.

Roth seems to see himself as a middle-of-the-road Brandt man. "We are all interventionists on one point or another," one SPD MP in Bonn has admitted.

"But," he added on an ironic note, "each of us favours a different point."

The policy draft of the Ehrenberg Commission clearly indicates that the SPD today favours all manner of economic policy approaches.

The commission has tried hard, in a report entitled Jobs for All — Design for the Future, to revert to a more pragmatic economic policy.

But the outcome is better described as a mixed bag of different and in some cases contradictory ventures in structural and growth policy.

It consists of a little market economics, a little government intervention, a little supply-side policy, a slight boost to demand, a little for ward-looking structural policy and a partial goodbye to too expensive jobs.

It looks as though the SPD has been unable to decide which direction to take: free-market or intervention policies.

But the outstanding role of private investment in growth and prosperity continues to be overlooked.

The CDU's Geissler Commission seems to face similar difficulties, although it isn't due to submit a draft until March.

It too faces the thankless task of reforging unity in a party that represents a wide range of viewpoints.

The Christian Democrats, in much the same way as the SPD, face a tactical conundrum that calls for as much intuition as consideration of an economic leitmotif.

It is not yet clear how the commission is dealing with the task, whether it is giving structural policymakers in its ranks a free hand or has heeded Finance Minister Stoltenberg's reminder to abide by market principles.

One point must be clear. If the CDU brain trust arrives at a similar juxtaposition of varied views to what its SPD counterparts have settled for, it might just as well call it a day immediately.

There is no lack of shapeless policy documents that mean all things to all men. Besides, the fine words of party manifestos have already cost the taxpayer a packet when they were put into practice.

Yet there seems to be no stopping the parties in their drive to engage in constant quests for new ideas to present to the voters.

This impulse may be more understandable in the SPD's case than in the CDU's. The SPD has always been a party of manifestos, but the real reason is that the Social Democrats were in poor shape on economic policy in the final years of their term of office in Bonn.

So the SPD can only regain prestige by re-emphasising what is feasible rather than what is desirable, by stressing practical rather than ideological considerations.

To this extent the party could do worse than take another look at the 1959 Godesberg manifesto.

Manifesto acrobatics could wind the CDU more than the SPD. The high esteem in which the party of Ludwig Erhard is held as the custodian of prosperity and solidity is already fraying at the edge.

It was this esteem that won the CDU a resounding election victory last year.

The CDU's lack of determination in slashing subsidies, its surtax subterfuge (dubbed an investment levy), its increases in taxes and levies and promises of extra welfare provisions (such as fresh categories of pregnancy allowance) have seemed to contradict all market economy principles.

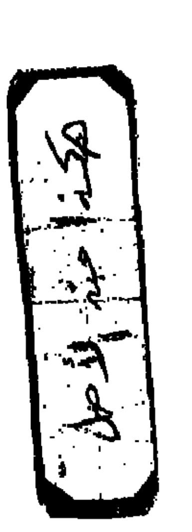
If structural policymakers gain the upper hand in the commission's deliberations, the exact opposite of what the CDU leaders really want ought to happen.

The CDU's economic policy line would look even more vague and uneven, indicating a trend similar to the way there seems increasingly little to choose between Republicans and Democrats in the United States.

In keeping with market regulations governing a duopoly, as it were, they could well gradually become increasingly similar.

Peter Hort

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 January 1984)





Karl-Friedrich Brodesser ... fine organiser. (Photo: dpa)

Change in the FDP line-up

The Free Democrats' general secretary-elect, Karl-Friedrich Brodesser, has the reputation of being a fine organiser.

Herr Brodesser, a former North Rhine-Westphalian state secretary, is also considered a loyal man who is unlikely to try and boost his own image at the expense FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Former Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum is to head a policy commission, while Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer, the outgoing general secretary, is to take on the thankless job of party treasurer (and will also be the statutory woman on the FDP's national executive).

The new FDP leadership, approved by the party's top brass in Heilbronn, may not be the best possible line-up.

The prospective general secretary cannot always be measured against the late Karl-Hermann Flach, who was outstanding, but the Liberals could not have done with an experienced policymaker in this key job.

But there aren't many of them around and the appointment of Gerhart Baum, the erstwhile FDP left-winger, cannot conceal the fact.

Herr Baum has made few public statements since his party sided with the Christian Democrats in Bonn.

Even so, he can be expected to try and draft a few imaginative people to ensure that the junior member of the Bonn coalition has a disnctively Liberal policy.

Bettina Wieselmann

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 31 January 1984)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Theodor Heuss, the foil to Adenauer's rapier

RHEINISCHE POST

Theodor Heuss was born 100 years ago on 31 January 1884 in Brackenheim, Baden. At 65, on 12 September 1949, he became the first Bonn head of state.

He retired at 75 after a decade in office during which he set standards by which his successors were to be measured. He died on 12 December 1963, 20 years ago, aged 79.

A politician, philosopher, historian, publicist and Liberal in the best sense of the term, Heuss was a stroke of luck for the infant Federal Republic.

It was not so much what he did; a head of state with limited powers can hardly carve out an image for himself by virtue of decisions reached.

As a member of the Parliamentary Council that drew up Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, Heuss personally helped to ensure that the Federal President had limited powers and no real power.

The Federal Republic was not to be a rerun of the Weimar Republic, in which President Hindenburg had done enormous damage by his use of executive power.

The way that he did was what counted: Heuss's invaluable contribution was himself, the way he managed to be an individual *and* a representative of the state.

He fostered confidence in democracy. he was a superb speaker in both what he had to say and how he said it. He had intellectual depth. He also had a sense of humour.

The combination made him a stroke of luck for the Federal Republic in every respect.

In the aftermath of the Second World War and the Nazi era Germany was divided and defeated. It was not just the immediate, tangible results of the war that upset people.

Viewed in retrospect, they alone are hard to picture. But what really weighed heavily on the Germans was a sense of profound moral depression.

That was the situation in which Heuss faced the daunting task of giving people in the Federal Republic of Germany a fresh sense of dignity.

It was not an exaggerated sense of dignity he had in mind but one with a more human touch. After the inferno of Nazi tyranny he was keen to make the new state a humane one.

On 8 May 1949, four months before he took over as head of state, he described what, as he saw it, had become of Germany.

VE Day four years earlier, the day on which Germany capitulated, had been the most tragic and dubious paradox in history for all of us, he wrote.

It had been the day on which the German people had been saved and destroyed simultaneously. Democracy, he warned, had not been gained by conquest in Germany; it had been imposed in defeat.

He knew from personal experience how the first German democracy had been destroyed. After the First World War he became a lecturer at the newly-founded Berlin College of Political Science.

He went in for local politics in the Berlin borough of Schöneberg and was a Liberal member of the Reichstag from 1924 to 1928 and from 1930 to 1933.

He warned against the Nazis until the day they took over, but he voted for the Enabling Act that gave Hitler a free hand legally, as it were, in the mistaken assumption that the Führer's policies would come a cropper within months.

Against this political and personal background Heuss invariably advocated a strong democracy in the Federal Republic.

In the Parliamentary Council he spoke out against imposing the burden of referendums on the democratic system. Germany, he said, was not Switzerland.

In a country with a large surface area a referendum was a godsend for demagogues and for loud-mouths among a confused people.

As President he was the best imaginable foil to the first Bonn Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, who was keener personally on reaching decisions and constitutionally empowered to do so, unlike Heuss.

Adenauer was Catholic Conservative from the west, Heuss a Protestant Liberal from the south.

The President knew his was a supporting role. He sought to appear as the intellectual and moral intermediary in a liberal democratic system.

But Heuss, who stepped down as FDP leader on becoming head of state, once said, in connection with his relationship with Adenauer, that they were an experienced team.

They certainly held each other in mutual respect. Heuss only disagreed with Adenauer in 1959 when the Chancellor first considered taking over as President, then abandoned the idea.

Head of state, Heuss said, was not an appointment to play at ducks and drakes with.



The first President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Theodor Heuss (right) together with the first Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer. This photograph was taken in 1959. (Photo: Bundesbildstelle)

He was not given, either in office or as a private individual, to exaggerated ceremony, false pathos and formalities.

He interspersed them with obiter dicta that were very much in keeping with his sense of humour, and his deep Swabian bass seldom upset people.

Once, when the group of scientists welcomed him in what was virtually a military line-up, he good-humouredly told them to stand easy.

He used remarks of this kind to relieve tension and pave the way for talks of the kind he preferred: over a glass of wine and a cigar.

When he was reminded, in the course of a congenial conversation, that it was time to go he would at times say:

"Oh, very well, the Federal President must take his leave. But Heuss intends to stay put for a while yet."

As the epitome of a civilian he once paid the Bundeswehr an official visit and good-humouredly told his audience: *Nun siegt mal schön!* (Go ahead and win!).

It was typical of a man who had always been in favour of conscription as the "legitimate child of democracy" and held uncomplicated views on the armed forces.

This famous comment also showed that even statesmen can show a sense of humour with reference to military manoeuvres.

President Heuss was genuinely popular. He was a man who radiated quiet confidence. Not for nothing was he dubbed "Papa" Heuss.

Ordinary people felt he understood how they felt. He invariably said what he felt mattered in a way everyone could understand.

People would have been happy with him as President for life, and politicians were prepared to amend Basic Law to enable him to serve a third term.

But he turned the offer down for democracy's sake. He was a politician with firm principles and sanguine hope. That is what makes it good to remember him.

Rudolf Bauer

(Rheinische Post, 28 January 1984)

Parties close ranks to honour Bonn's first head of state

Nordwest Zeitung

There are occasions when ruling and Opposition parties behave in a manner that does not cast a shadow on the democratic consensus that still exists in the Federal Republic of Germany.

One such occasion was the Bundestag ceremony on 31 January tomark the birth centenary of the first Bonn head of state, Theodor Heuss.

Leaders of the state and of democratic political parties met to honour the man who served as first President of the Federal Republic from 1949 to 1959.

He took on this tough assignment at a time when neighbouring countries in East and West took an extremely mistrustful view of the new German state and treated it accordingly.

Speeches were made by President Carstens, Bundestag Speaker Barzel, Bundesrat Speaker Strauss and the SPD and FDP leaders Willy Brandt and Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

All agreed that Heuss, who died in December 1963 aged 79, was a stroke of luck for the infant republic.

It was noteworthy that none of the speakers succumbed to the temptation to claim Heuss, a Liberal, as a witness to the fact that their respective parties were pursuing the right policies.

All speakers were agreed that Theodor Heuss took his task as head of state literally and seriously, observing strict impartiality and trying to strike a balance.

SPD leader Willy Brandt said that his fairness had been emulated by all subsequent Bonn heads of state, which was a major contribution toward taking the edge off polarisation and consolidating views on the role of the Federal President.

Heuss carried out his duties, limited as they were in real power, with intelligence, a human touch and a constant concern to resolve conflicts.

When he took office the Federal Republic was in its infancy. He, as the man he was, helped to shape it in formative years.

He not only helped to draft Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, but also gave the new German state a human face by virtue of his personal note of tolerance.

He set standards in many ways. He represented for one the Germany that had not thrown in its lot with Hitler. But he was not given to self-satisfaction; he admitted to his fair share of responsibility for what had happened.

His intelligence, humanity and spirit of telerance were partly responsible for the international community abandoning its negative view of Germany.

An echo of this tolerance resounded in the Bundestag during his centenary ceremony. It was extremely gratifying, and German democracy owed it even now, over 20 years after his death, to "Papa" Heuss.

Bodo Schulte

(Nordwest Zeitung, 1 February 1984)

■ THE EEC

Americans drop a warning over agriculture

US Agriculture Secretary John R. Block's visit to this year's International Green Week agriculture fair in Berlin confirms the impression that America is prepared for a trade showdown unless the EEC changes its farm policy.

Block was not quite as aggressive in Berlin as he usually is at home, but he made it clear that the Administration would act if the EEC does not revert to free world trade.

America regards the European farm market as the main culprit among the world's agricultural exporters.

It now blames just about all its farmers' troubles on the EEC, although there are in fact, many reasons.

Some of them are accounted for by the fact that a growing number of countries now concentrate on farm exports. The traditional exporters like the USA, the EEC, Canada and Australia have been joined by countries like Brazil and Argentina, which are putting an end to the US export monopoly on soya beans.

The aftermath of America's 1980 grain embargo against the Soviet Union is still troubling American farmers.

They are increasingly meeting the same problems that face European farmers: steeply rising production costs and surpluses.

Washington accuses the EEC of having captured disproportionate world market shares through subsidies which, it says, violates General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt).

Gatt allows export subsidies only in exceptional cases and even then only for raw materials if this does not lead to disproportionate market shares.

The Americans say that Europe has violated these provisions all along the line.

The EEC usually counters this by pointing to America's many special provisions that have enabled it to get round Gatt rules since the 1950s.

The fact is that America now has a wide range of import quotas, levies, domestic price regulations and restrictive marketing ordinances that stamp it as anything but a champion of free trade.

But none of this has stopped the US from regarding Europe's farm policy as an impregnable bastion erected for the protection of inefficient farmers.

These farmers, Washington argues, not only get rich at the expense of European taxpayers and consumers, they also hurt farmers in other parts of the world.

This view, the Americans say, is confirmed by the EEC Commission's plans to restrict the import of cheap American feed and to put steep enough levies on imported vegetable oils and fats to blunt the edge they have over surplus EEC butter.

The Commission is convinced that this would not be an intolerable imposition on the Americans. It argues that anybody who complains about EEC competition on world markets must not be too loud in urging unhampered feed imports by the Community because it is these very imports that have caused the surpluses in Europe.

The Commission's plans mark the limit for the US. Passing this limit would inevitably trigger trade sanctions against the EEC, according to Block.

The looming EEC financial bankruptcy is seen by Washington as a purely internal problem that cannot be solved at the expense of Europe's trading partners. It would never occur to America to ask the EEC whether it would be prepared to reward cutbacks in America's farm production by reviewing its own marketing practices, Block said in Berlin. The US expects the same independent policy from the EEC. Otherwise it would be forced to introduce selective measures, contrary to its usual liberal trade policy.

It is hard to see a way out of this trade dispute.

There is much to indicate that the American farm lobby will increase its pressure on President Reagan in the campaign months by demanding a more aggressive policy towards the EEC.

The Community would not take this lying down and the consequence would be a subsidies race in which both sides would be the losers.

The only winners could be other countries which would get their farm imports even more cheaply.

The Soviet Union, for instance, would stand a good chance of getting its butter at a giveaway price.

In the final analysis, the green battle would end with the realisation by the two feuding parties that nobody can lumber his trading partner with his own structural problems.

Gerhard Hennemann

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 February 1984)

Bonn Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kiechle at Berlin's Green Week meeting one of the stars of the show. (Photo: AP)

Money, the one surplus that isn't

At some point this year, the EEC Commission is going to have to tell member nations that the EEC is broke.

This is the stone-cold reality behind the suspicious calm in the Community.

It's business as usual, and things are taking their normal bureaucratic course, at least for the moment.

The ten governments did manage to find common ground on the steel issue in late January. This give the impression that the EEC is starting to move again.

And the way France is tackling the remaining five months of its presidency of the Council of Ministers also give this impression.

There have been speeches and appeals to join forces in solving common problems; and the agricultural, financial and other Community issues are being dealt with an inconspicuous, business-like routine.

But all this is deceptive. Europe's crisis is far from resolved.

Some time this year — opinion is still divided whether in July, September or October — the EEC Commission will have to admit that it is broke.

The budget that was passed in December is too small to see the Community through this year. And a supplementary budget won't help this time because the EEC has arrived at the absolute limit of its revenue potential.

Borrowing is out of the question because the founding fathers wisely forbade it.

As things stand, nobody knows where the money is to come from to pay farmers their guaranteed prices, officials their salaries and industry its subsidies.

And neither the Eurocrats in Brussels nor the politicians in other capitals have the gumption to face the financial realities.

The official line is one more optimistic that the self-destruction of which France's Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson recently warned can be stopped by fundamental political decisions at the next summit. But there is nothing to indicate that this optimism is justified.

What has changed since Athens is only the procedure.

Instead of having mammoth conferences with 30 ministers crowded around a table, the hope now rests with the tried and proven bodies of the Community: the Brussels Commission is to take the initiative and present proposals.

The Council of Ministers is to decide. And the heads of state and government are to put wise ideas into the pot, for the rest restricting themselves to the few points on which top level political decisions are actually needed.

Since nobody can seriously expect the agriculture ministers to agree on cutting farm spending, the hitherto useless discussions in the Council of Ministers are to be backed by a web of bilateral contacts.

Franco-British and Franco-German talks have already been held. And there is every likelihood that European problems will take first place on the agenda at the Oggersheim meeting of President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl.

But even with the change in procedure there are no tangible results in sight.

All that could transpire is that the package wrapped up at the Stuttgart summit — a package that has proved much too bulky — could be streamlined.

A major European research programme for communication technology, part of the package, is to be taken out.

But other problems have been added. There is, above all, this year's round of talks on farm prices and the Bonn-Paris conflict over countervailing levies for exchange rate differences that will make reforms even more difficult.

Then there are the June elections to the European Parliament. Everybody knows that campaigns don't promote political compromises and the concessions everybody would have to make.

"Come November, we'll either be bankrupt or we'll have made it," says Commission President Gaston Thorn.

Unfortunately, the first is the more likely outcome.

Uwe Vorkötter

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 1 February 1984)

Bogged down back in the farmyard

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Berlin's Green Week has nothing to do with the political movement known as the Greens. Yet it is very much a political event: an agricultural policy forum.

The EEC farm policy is a more dominant topic of discussion this year than for a long time.

Speeches at the opening showed that the very issue that once united the Community nations is now dividing them more than ever before.

Never before has a German agriculture minister talked about changing farm policy.

But the current one, Ignaz Kiechle, did. And what lends weight to what he said is the fact that Kiechle, a Bavarian, is an agricultural protectionist who would prefer not to change this mis- policy at all.

But even he cannot escape reality. The trouble is that he is not looking for salvation through change. What he wants is even more protectionism and more bureaucracy.

The many technocrats and representatives of that very bureaucracy who went to the Berlin fair already see themselves gaining in influence.

It was in all likelihood the anticipated growth of agricultural protectionism that prompted US Secretary of Agriculture John Block to attend the show.

The additional import barriers for American farm produce planned by Brussels and other European capitals are intended as a cosmetic measure.

No EEC politician has the gumption to oppose the Eurocrats' contention that European dairy surpluses are due to imported animal feed.

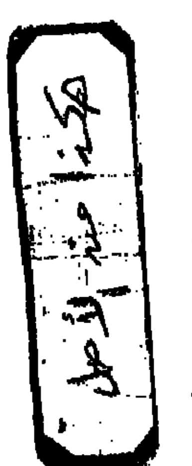
Block was right in repeating his warning against this in Berlin.

The European Community must tackle the looming financial collapse of its farm policy with different methods.

All those who are responsible for the collapse — politicians, agricultural policy makers, farmers and lobbyists — are faced with the wreckage they have jointly caused.

A lot more than patchwork is needed.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 January 1984)



■ BUSINESS

After 50 years, a new Crocodile clickety-clacks over the tracks

Süddeutsche Zeitung

There is a new Crocodile. Fifty years after it first appeared, the Swiss model freight train has been redesigned.

The new, smaller scale model is being shown by its creators, *Gebr. Märklin & Cie*, at the Nuremberg Toy Fair. If you want to buy it, you can — for up to DM45,000. The engine alone costs about DM2,000.

The standard new Crocodile is in green, but there is a limited number of 3,300 in brown.

This year marks the 125th anniversary of the Märklin family business that has developed into the world's largest maker of model trains.

In 1859 Theodor Friedrich Wilhelm Märklin and an assistant began producing tin crockery for dolls.

His 23-year-old wife, Caroline, looked after sales. She was the first woman travelling salesman to criss-cross Germany and Switzerland.

But in 1866 Märklin died after an accident. His wife took over. But the business, which had never really flourished, deteriorated.

It was taken over by Märklin's two sons, Karl and Egon, in 1888.

In the first year under the sons, it sold 10,000 marks worth of toy kitchen stoves, toy utensils, tops and ships at a loss of 3,000 marks.

A new mortgage on the premises prevented liquidation.

But then business improved. In 1891, the Märklin brothers took over first the distributorship and then the whole of Ludwig Lutz's metal toy factory whose range of products already included a train.

That very year, they showed their first clockwork-driven train at the Leipzig Fair.

A year later, they were joined by another partner, Emil Friz of Plochingen — a man determined to turn Märklin into the world's largest and best toy factory.

It was still troubled financially but then began going from strength to strength.

The range of trains was extended, and by 1895 Märklin was able to offer four different track gauges (O, I, II and III).

In 1900, the range was expanded to include the first steam and electricity-driven trains.

In 1907 Richard Safft joined as a partner. He looked after exports.

A "metal do-it-yourself kit with genuine screw technology" was put on the market in 1914.

Eventually, the company overcame its cash problems and forged ahead with innovations.

In 1926 a 20 volt transformer was introduced that made electric trains safe for children.

In 1935, the HO track gauge (scale 1:87) appeared.

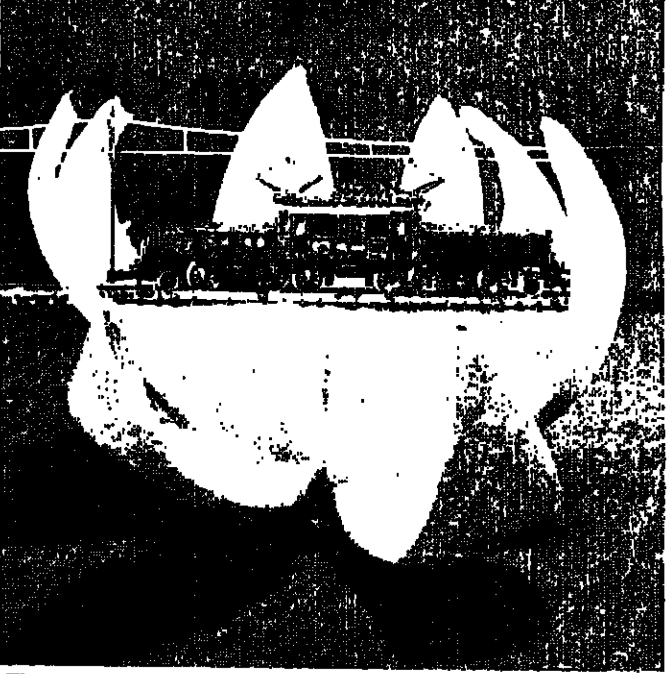
In 1914 Märklin had a staff of 600. This had risen to 900 by 1928, and by the time the company celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1959, the payroll was up to 2,000.

The share capital of DM10.5m is now equally shared by the Märklin, Friz and Safft families, though they have withdrawn from the management.

Märklin chief executive Dieter Motte, 49 (formerly a Loewe-Opta manager and before then owner of the radio and TV manufacturing company Wega) has headed the three-man management board since joining the company 18 months ago.

The domestic market for toy trains has been stagnating at an annual DM500m or 14 to 17 per cent of total retail sales of toys.

The Göppingen-based firm, whose products are also sold under the brand name Primex, has also been stagnating despite the fact that it controls 55 per cent of the German market, which makes it the biggest supplier of its kind. Despite promotional efforts and the new range of products to mark the 125th anniversary, Motte expects no more than continuity for the 1983/84 business year that ends on 30 June.



The new, smaller Crocodile. Peeled orange shows the scale. (Photos: Märklin)

The 2.7 per cent average price increases for the products at the Nuremberg Fair could bring some nominal but hardly any real growth.

In the 1982/83 business year, when prices at the Fair were raised 3.8 per cent, sales rose by 4.9 per cent to DM132.8m: 24 per cent of the sales were accounted for by exports.

The lion's share, some 80 per cent, was accounted for by HO track trains. The Mini-Club, the world's smallest model train with a track gauge of 6.5mm, accounted for just under 15 per cent while the traditional metal do-it-yourself set contributed two per cent.

Though in the overall the balance shet was in the black, Motte says that "earnings in the past few years have been unsatisfactory."

He started combating this last business year by trying to reduce fixed costs and reorganise.

But two peculiarities of the toy factory, which employs 1,800 in its two plants in Göppingen and Schwäbisch Gmünd, make it difficult to streamline.

Since the range of products consists of 800 items, the individual lots are small and development costs for a new model are disproportionately large. The tool costs for a new engine alone amount to between DM500,000 and DM800,000.

Much still has to be done by hand, and wages account for 60 per cent of production costs.

"There's no way of reducing the amount of handwork," says Motte.

But he hopes to reduce something entirely different. In March, Märklin wants to stop supplying 40 or 50 of its 3,000 domestic retailers who act as mail-order houses.

Motte is adamant that expert personal advice is a must for products like his. The mail-order retailers, who usually undercut the toy shops, say that Märklin only wants is to keep prices up.

The matter now rests with the Federal Cartel Office in Berlin which has not yet decided.

Märklin has already braced itself in case bad news from Berlin arrives during the Fair.

The Cartel Office would probably like to seize the public relations opportunity of issuing its ruling.

Felix Spies

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28 January 1984)



The world of make-believe

■ THE TRADE UNIONS

Drumming up support for the 35-hour week

The call for a 35-hour week is the crux of this year's round of wage talks, due to start in earnest in March. But all is not well in trade union ranks.

Student unrest in 1968 came up with a catchy phrase denoting dissatisfaction with stick-in-the-mud university structures, *Unter den Talaren*, students proclaimed, *der Muff von tausend Jahren*, or: There's 1,000 Years of Fug Beneath the Mortarboards.

Many trade union members and officials have similar feelings today. They are sick and tired of the rigid and inflexible union structure.

Frustration is particularly striking in IG Metall, the 2.5m-strong union of iron, steel and engineering workers, whose leading officials have heralded the greatest social policy issue since the war.

That, they claim, is how important the campaign for a 35-hour working week (reduced from the present 40) will be. Some even seen it as make or break for the trade union movement.

Critics from the union's own ranks are accordingly convinced that fine words alone will not do the trick. Extraordinary situations call for extraordinary measures, but most leading union officials lack the courage of their convictions.

As the two sides, unions and employers, line up for battle the powerful IG Metall is in an unenviable position.

Opinion polls (and by no means only polls by the employers) have shown the shopfloor to be nowhere near as unanimous in support for the 35-hour week as unions would have us believe.

Union polls too have shown that a hard slog still lies ahead to get the message across. Unionists are agreed on this point; where they disagree is on how to set about it.

Long-serving officials are banking on tried and trusted methods such as courses, leaflet and rousing speeches.

Pluckier colleagues feel this approach is out of touch with the spirit of the times, boring and unlikely to motivate members.

They advocate actively including members, especially young people, and an offensive publicity campaign outside the union's own ranks.

In theory many long-serving officials can follow the idea, but a lack of understanding and one objection after another predominate whenever specific proposals are framed.

"They're scared of their own courage," a rank-and-file union member says. IG Metall's collective bargaining department is well aware of the problem.

Its idea was to send a combination of propaganda and entertainment round the country (along the lines of the Green Caterpillar roadshow the Greens ran during last year's Bundestag election campaign) to advertise the union's campaign and hit the headlines.

The roadshow, it was hoped, will also succeed in mobilising support both on the shopfloor and among members of the general public.

The plan was to fit out four trucks imaginatively decorated to plans by set designer and director Wilfried Minks and send them touring the country to whip up support for the 35-hour week.

Professor Minks envisaged each of the trucks dealing with a specific aspect of the 35-hour week via demonstration and agitation, play and information, image, film and sound.

The first truck was to tour the country in the guise of a job-devouring monster. No. 2 was to depict a wailing wall of unemployment demolished by the pile-driver of the 35-hour week, with the sun emblem of the 35-hour week rising from the ruins.

No. 3 was to be a friendly vacuum cleaner monster readily ingesting proposals by the public on how to deal with unemployment.

No. 4 was to be a mobile stage for works groups, amateur shows, cabaret, bands and song groups.

All four trucks were to be fitted out with the latest technology. Video systems and monitor screens were to have conveyed information on all manner of topics at the push of a button.

It would unquestionably have cost a packet. Fitting out the trucks was to have cost DM1.5m. The entire project was expected to cost about DM4m.

That was too expensive for the IG Metall executive committee, but cash alone was not the reason why the project was ruled out.

A factor that counted for even more was the uneasy feeling top-ranking officials had about a spectacular campaign so out of tune with their accustomed image of the trade union movement.

"They were chicken," Minks said. The arts and the unions still seem to have difficulty in getting along with each other.

Maybe the idea was just too revolutionary. In other instances the officials have been willing enough to make unusual moves.

Instead of the roadshow there was a festival in Frankfurt on 21 January starring Udo Lindenberg and Joan Baez that was a roaring success in the eyes of a trade union audience of 10,000.

It was to have been the start of a tour of 20 cities and towns, but the idea failed to gain approval at committee stage.

"It is as though the executive committee was determined to make sure meetings are attended by only 2,000 people instead of 10,000," a member comments.

The Frankfurt show was such a success that doubters have changed their minds. Similar shows are to be held in several cities in the weeks ahead.

Planning staff at the collective bargaining department in Frankfurt are undismayed. They hope the union colossus will allow itself to be dragged out of the rut.

They are busy thinking out fresh and unusual be good for a few more surprises.

The fountainhead may be cumbersome and slow on the uptake in publicising its case but the rank and file are flexible and open-minded.

Klaus Lang, head of collective bargaining, proudly says that the range of activities is wider than it has been for decades.

Committed workers have unquestionably come up with bright ideas. Their ideas and activities fill two large box files in Lang's office.

"And we haven't, by any stretch of the imagination, been able to register all activities that have been going on around the country," he says.

In Goslar, for instance, "unemployed ghosts" have gone on parade, proclaiming on billboards: *Ich bin der Geist von Kanzler Kohl, aussen weiss und innen hohl* (I'm the ghost of Chancellor Kohl, white outside and empty within).

Elsewhere Santa Clauses have demonstrated in support of the 35-hour week. In some firms alarm clocks ring seven hours after work starts to remind workers they could go home now if the 35-hour week was already in force.

A dice game has been invented and named Tarifoli. There are packs of cards brand-named 35 (the standard German pack has 32, from the seven up).

There are puzzles and shows, cycle outings and street theatre performances, tee shirts and sweets.

The magazine for unions officials *Der Gewerkschafter* could easily print a complete alphabet of activities in support of the 35-hour week.

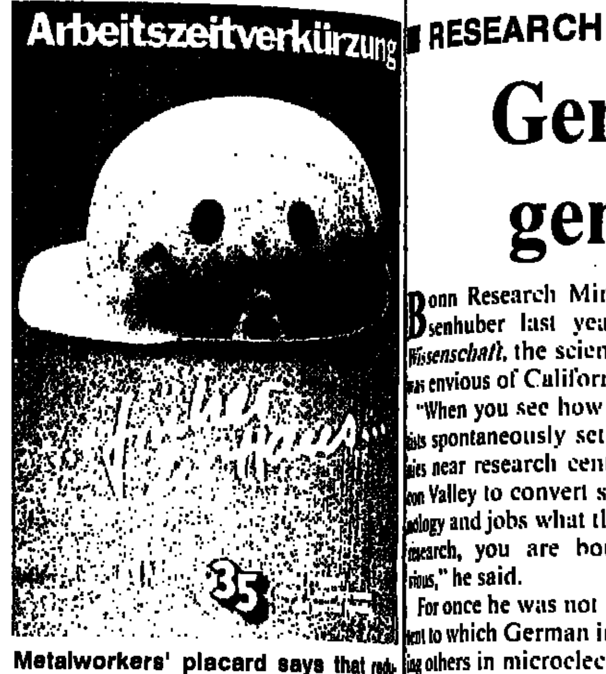
In Bochum the IG Metall Choir is rehearsing a revue entitled The Journey to the 35-Hour Week. In Cologne IG Metall and three other unions have joined forces in a publicity campaign.

They are IG Druck, the printing workers' union, HBV, representing shops, banks and insurance workers, and the wood and plastics workers' union.

In Cologne union members in various firms have hired enormous billboards and hoardings, distributed badges and leaflets and organised street festivals.



On the road for 35 hours. The IG Metall (metalworkers' union) sign reads: Shorter working hours mean more jobs! (Photo: dpa)



Metalworkers' placard says that reduced working hours means that people can go home earlier.

Cologne is particularly proud of having taken out advertising space on the side of buses and trams.

When trade unionists in Münster failed in a similar bid they simply festooned themselves with 35-hour week placards and stickers and boarded trams as sandwich boards.

One of the nicest ideas was at head office in Frankfurt, where a janitor ordered 2,000 crocuses last October.

He looks after the lawn in front of the building but an accounts clerk was surprised at the order and asked him what the idea was.

He said it was to plant the bulbs in the lawn to come up in spring in the shape of the 35-hour week logo. The idea was readily accepted.

Tulips and crocuses are said to have been planted on the front lawns of several companies whose managements are in for a surprise this spring when the logo adds a splash of colour to the premises.

IG Metall officials are keen to avoid publicity about their preparations for industrial action, although plans are in full swing.

Lists of members' addresses and phone numbers are being brought up to date and the addresses of organisations and authorities noted that have to be notified of plans to hold demonstrations.

Strike locals are being arranged and booths for the poll of members on whether or not to strike.

At Darmstadt district office, as elsewhere, a van was bought last autumn in preparation for strike activity and fitted out with loudspeakers, files of every company and wall brackets for vacuum flasks.

The rising sun motif of the 35-hour week logo unmistakably identifies the van and its purpose.

At many branches new calculators have been bought (probably a long overdue addition to office equipment) to work out strike pay.

Works council elections, held every three years and due this spring, are to have been held in eight out of ten IG Metall companies by March.

The election campaigns are in full swing, so full-time and honorary union officials have their hands full.

Text-Intern, the admen's magazine has approvingly commented on the imaginative way in which IG Metall members are running the publicity campaign for the 35-hour week.

Erika Martens

(Die Zeit, 3 February 1984)

■ RESEARCH

Germany climbs slowly on to the genetic-engineering bandwagon

DIE ZEIT

Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber last year told *Bild der Wissenschaft*, the scientific monthly, he was envious of California.

"When you see how young US scientists spontaneously set up new companies near research centres such as Silicon Valley to convert straight into technology and jobs what they have learnt in research, you are bound to feel envious," he said.

For once he was not lamenting the extent to which German industry was trailing others in microelectronics and computers.

This time he was referring to genetic engineering, an equally important key to the industrial future.

American scientists and firms are way ahead of their German opposite numbers in manipulating the genes of microbes to harness them industrially to manufacture drugs and foodstuffs.

Herr Riesenhuber is rightly envious of the United States in this context. But he can now take slight consolation from the initiative taken by four German professors.

The four dons, led by Heidelberg geneticist Ekkehard Bautz, were sick and tired of always lamenting about the extent to which Germany was lagging behind other countries in new industries.

They set up, on American lines, a research company of their own, Progen Biotechnik GmbH, in Heidelberg.

The bio boom in the USA has not been the handiwork of leading industrial corporations. Scientists specialising in basic research at university have not been alone in forcing the pace either.

Hundreds of small companies run on venture capital have been the catalyst in genetic engineering.

It was they who provided the pioneers, mainly reputed university staff, with the cash they needed to convert their know-how into products.

They did so regardless of initial losses and solely in the hope of bumper but distant profits.

That's just what Progen have in mind. The new company will be a test case to show whether American techniques will work in Germany.

It is about time the attempt was made. The Bonn government, for one, has realised that industrial potential is no longer what it was in the *Wirtschaftswunder* land of years gone by.

Chancellor Kohl sees himself as just the man to put matters right and ensure that German industry is fighting fit to face the future.

Encouraging new ventures in technology is very much part of what he has in mind.

But good intentions seem to be stymied by intellectual paralysis and disagreement among members of the government.

The Chancellor would have been happy, one would have thought, to donate technological pioneers cash from the proceeds of privatising state-owned companies.

But his experts, the Economic Affairs and Finance Ministers, take a dim view of the idea.

All there has been so far is fine words such as Free Democrat Wolfgang Mischnick's resounding coinage "Marshall aid for technology."

Nothing more tangible has occurred than Bonn's modest pilot project to encourage the foundation of technology-oriented companies.

DM100m has been earmarked to help small firms with new ideas to get going. About 200 founders have applied for grants since mid-1983.

The Progen professors have had to dispense with this financial backing from Bonn. Heidelberg happens not to be in one of the areas the programme has been designed to serve.

It is merely the hub of genetic engineering in Germany and the projected location of a technology park envisaged by Baden-Württemberg Prime Minister Lothar Späth.

Professor Bautz's colleagues in the venture are molecular biologists Werner Franke, Peter Gruss and Günter Hämmerling.

They have raised their funds solely from venture capital investors. The company is to be launched on its paid-up capital, not on bank loans.

Paid-up capital is DM100,000. Each of the the four men has contributed DM20,000, as has a Düsseldorf management consultancy, Bera.

Further shares in the firm are to be sold to raise capital totalling roughly DM13m, but the money cannot yet be said to have been rolling in.

In the first four weeks over DM1m was chipped in by private investors, but the company is still well short of the DM4m the four professors have said they must have if the company is to be properly launched.

So Progen manager Bodo Spiekermann is currently spending most of his time conferring with potential investors, mainly industrial but also domestic and foreign venture capital firms.

Leading chemical and drug manufacturers might be expected to show keenest interest in the company, but they have shown few signs of providing cash.

It was much the same story in the United States some years ago. Big business didn't invest in bio labs until they seemed sure to make research headway.

The Heidelberg dons could badly do with industrial backing. Only the experienced executives of established drug companies know the market well enough to judge what product lines might sell.

"We have already had initial experience of talks with industry," says Ekkehard Bautz, "and they aren't all that interested in what is intellectually intriguing.

"Their constant counter-question is whether we can sell the product." But only large companies have the production and marketing capacity a research firm needs.

So success or failure will largely depend on the interest shown by industry. Small investors aren't going to raise the kind of cash Progen needs.

Yet the corporate structure, in contrast to the American system, is aimed at direct private investment, whereas US genetic engineering laboratories are financed via venture capital funds.

Funds buy shares in a number of new companies to spread the risk. Investors only make a profit when one or other of the companies goes public.

The Progen concept only includes the idea of investors making a profit if the company goes public at any stage. The men behind it were unable to agree on a fund arrangement.

Herr Spiekermann feels direct financial participation is a safe source of capital invested by the well-heeled middle class.

"They," he says, "are people who still tend to think in terms of property to some extent. They don't want an anonymous fund that parts company with the firm after, say, five years."

Fragmentation of investment also makes it easier for the professors to retain control over the company. Outsiders are never to have more than 49 per cent of voting rights.

That too is different from US venture capital schemes. Fund managers have the say in US companies invested in, and as experienced executives they have a keen sense of how companies can survive their teething troubles.

Progen is relying on the management skill of Bodo Spiekermann, who admittedly is not a run-of-the-mill corporate executive.

He used to be a civil servant at the Ministry of Research and Technology in Bonn and long ran the German Cancer Research Establishment in Heidelberg.

The owners of Bera, the Düsseldorf management consultants, are much more experienced. Wolfgang Bopp was a junior board member at Ruhrkohle, Wolfram Schmidt a Triumph-Adler director.

They now specialise in financing technologically-based new companies and helping them to get off the ground.

Finance is one crucial issue for the company. The speed at which it develops marketable products is another.

Progen is certainly too late a starter to be able to hope to challenge international competitors who have already developed all manner of miracle drugs.

That is why the Heidelberg boffins are not interested in insulin, growth hormones and interferon, the first products of genetic engineering worldwide.

They are keen to develo new diagnostic products for use, say, in early diagnosis of cancer.

The market and profit potential for such lines are clearly smaller than for genetic engineering super-drugs. But development, especially licensing procedures, is likely to be less problematic.

Germany's first venture in private enterprise genetic engineering is certainly on a scale much more modest than in the United States.

But in one respect, the Heidelberg dons have discovered, similarities between conditions in America and Germany are greater than expected.

"I'm surprised there have been absolutely no objections from officialdom," says Bautz.

Moral doubts

The idea of university lecturers trying to earn anything as unseemly as a private-enterprise profit on the side has always been felt to be somehow nefarious in Germany.

The Green MPs in the Stuttgart state assemble promptly wanted to know how the venture could be reconciled with the four's university careers.

Bautz, for instance, remains a professor. "The risk I'm running is fairly slight," he admits. "If Progen is a failure all I stand to lose is my invested capital, DM20,000. I will still have my university job."

That is why their investment in the new company is all that has been settled for the time being. There are no restrictions on how civil servants invest their savings.

If they were to work on the side for the company they would have to apply to the university authorities for permission. Negotiations are in progress.

Prime Minister Späth has already given his personal approval. "I have written personally to Professor Bautz," he says. "saying I support his project."

Bautz takes a realistic view. "Now," he says, "there is a clear and visible distinction between my department and the firm."

University research findings are often put to private use unofficially, and that is surely not preferable.

But the great leap forward in genetic or any other technology is hardly conceivable without the collaboration of business and academic research that runs so smoothly in the United States.

Wolfgang Gehrmann

(Die Zeit, 3 February 1984)

■ THE CINEMA

Festival says it likes the taste of Peppermint



Marianne Rosenbaum . . . on a winner.
(Photo: Basis Film)

The jury at the Max Ophüls Film Prize Festival in Saarbrücken found it difficult to pick this year's winner.

Eventually they settled for *Peppermint Frieden*, by Marianne Rosenbaum.

The festival started modestly in 1980 with 12 entries. The number of applications this year was so large that many had to be turned down.

Twenty nine were accepted. They provided four-and-a-half days of cinema immersion, but no great discoveries emerged.

The jury admitted films by directors who hardly qualified as the new blood, for whom the prize was originally intended.

For example, Thomas Koerfer *(Glut)*, Marianne Lüdcke *(Liebe ist kein Argument)* and Rainer Boldt *(Im Zeichen des Kreuzes)*.

The jury finally settled on *Peppermint Frieden* (Peppermint Peace), although Rosenbaum is also no newcomer.

The decision was nevertheless right because the film is committed, critical and cinematically convincing.

It describes life in a Bavarian village shortly after the war as seen by six-year-old Marianne.

An American soldier called Mister Frieden shows up in a huge limousine, hands out chewing gum to the children and has a good time with his German girlfriend.

The war is over, but the people have not changed.

Keenly observing and analysing every step, the film shows how hypocrisy, philistine morality and the sexual bigotry of adults confuse and frighten Marianne.

Then as in the past, the adults shy away from unpleasant truths, minimising the concentration camp just outside the village by referring to it as a brick factory.

The children are not supposed to know the adults secret thoughts.

During the Korean War, when Marianne believes that there is a nuclear war coming, her father comforts her by showing her a globe and demonstrating that Korea is on the other side of the world.

Surrealistic shots reflect Marianne's dreams, fears and hopes, psychoanalytically mastering the past and the things adults avoid talking about.

The whole thing finally results in a shock effect warning of a new disaster.

There were also a number of comedies at the festival. None, including Rolf Silber's *Kassensturz*, were convincing.

The film centres around a young bank clerk who wants to impress the girls with his Cartier lighter.

He later borrows his father's leather jacket — the father is an aging rock'n roll fan — and opts for an alternative lifestyle.

There are a number of brilliant ideas, but the story is too weak to keep the whole thing together.

The comedies were thin in story and dialogue and provided little more than a series of cheap gags good for a few laughs. They were so much geared to pleasing the audience that a bit of black humour would have been welcome.

Radical, avant garde cinema as presented by the Austrian director Friederike Pezold in her *Canale Grande* does not seem particularly popular with the younger generation of directors.

Documentaries were conspicuously missing. Andreas Gruber's *Drinnen & Draussen* (Within & Without), which received a promotional prize, somewhat made up for this shortcoming.

The film tells the story of a social worker looking after the patient Hauser during practical training in a mental institution. Its forte is the clarity with which it depicts a peripheral area of society.

Gruber is interested in both his characters: there is Hauser, a ward of court whose repeated attempts to become integrated into society have failed.

And there is Renate, the woman who looks after him and wants to help. It has a sad ending. The social worker's commitment results in a conflict with her boyfriend, showing that work and private life don't mix.

Gruber has come up with an expressive film that startles because it shows that anybody who becomes uncompromisingly involved in another person's suffering himself cracks up.

Another director whose unusual and exciting shots attracted attention was Gabor Altorjay with *Pankow '95*.

He tells the story of a music researcher (Udo Kier) who is being kept in a mental institution. With his theory on the "conspiracy of youth" he wants to get to the bottom of why fathers are unable to understand their children.

Altorjay has developed a film language of his own, and his style resembles comic strips, motley and glaring. A shocker for film addicts.

Another remarkable work was Richard Blank's *Friedliche Tage* (Peaceful Days) because of its thematic and formal challenge to the viewer.

This negative utopia presents a world in which people move as if computer-controlled.

It is a Kafkaesque world in which everybody learn his own behaviour from video films, a blend of fact and fiction.

A hunter shoots with blanks, an amazingly live yet artificial blackbird on his arm. Nothing seems real in this utopia. Is everybody under surveillance or is it all just imagination?

His film has no ready answers, but it shows what is at stake in our world: the end of the individual, the ego, the very thing that makes man unique.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 24 January 1984)

Death of a film moralist

Film director Wolfgang Staudte, who died suddenly aged 77 while shooting a TV series in Yugoslavia, was a thorn in the flesh of both German states.

The irksome, politically committed moralist earned himself an international reputation with his many films.

Reviewing only those he made in the past few years would hardly do him justice. By that time there was little left of the once committed social critic and what he produced was mainly such TV series as *Tatort*, *Der Kommissar*, *Der Seewolf* and *MS Franziska*. These were the work of a man for whom mastery of his metier had become routine.

He learned his craft as a young man. Born into a theatre family in Saarbrücken, he was drawn to the stage.

His acting career began in the mid-1920s at the *Berliner Volksbühne* where he stayed until 1932.

During that time he gave guest performances at Max Reinhardt's *Deutsches Theater*, playing Brecht and Toller under the direction of Piscator.

His roles in political plays directed against the spreading right wing radicalism of the time made him unpopular with the Nazis.

He worked in advertising where he made more than 100 films. Later, he resumed his acting career in the film *Legion Condor* and in 1943 he went into directing with the film *Akrobat schö-ö-ön*.

After the war, he worked for the East



Wolfgang Staudte . . . uncompromising.
(Photo: Patrick La Banca)

Berlin DEFA where he attracted wide attention as a critic of the era.

Prime examples of that time are *Rotation* and *Die Mörder sind unter uns* (The Murderers are in our Midst) with Hildegard Knef. His film of Heinrich Mann's novel *Der Untertan* (The Patrioteer) in 1951 created a sensation.

The film presents an example of the German philistine who kicked those below below him and licked the boots of those above.

It should be thought provoking that it took until 1957 before this work was shown in West Germany.

Staudte, whose uncompromising attitude soon caused him difficulties in the East, was regarded in the West as a man who fouls his own back yard.

After 1956 he worked only in the

Continued on page 11

Peter Schamoni . . . ignored own[...]
(Photo: Süddeutsche[...])

Schamoni and the new era

Peter Schamoni was one of the sig[...]tories of the 1962 Oberhausen [...]nifesto in which young German f[...] makers marked the birth of the [...] German film.

Schamoni was then 28. He had [...] made his first short films including *B[...]talität in Stein* (Brutality in Stone).

His first feature film, *Schonzeit [...] Füchse* (Close Season for Foxes) [...] made in 1965. The heavily autobiog[...]phical work earned him the Silver B[...] at the 1966 Berlin Festival.

Schamoni says about his debut a[...] feature film director: "After making [...] film I no longer saw any reason to [...]ble moviegoers with the contempla[...] of my own navel. I therefore decided [...] stop translating my own disenchant[...] into films."

Instead of dealing with his own p[...]chological problems, the director [...] he became interested in the self-real[...]tion of different personalities, whethe[...] was in film or in the fine arts.

Many of his short films made in [...] past few years depict the work of [...] artists.

So do his third, and so far last, fe[...] film that reached German cinemas [...] year. Here he deals with art and [...] "self-destruction and self-assertion [...] the artist."

Frühlingssinfonie (Spring Symph[...]) which earned him the Bavarian F[...] Prize, depicts the relationship be[...] the young Robert Schumann and the [...]lented pianist Klara Wieck whom [...] composer married in 1840.

This type of film is unusual for Ge[...]man cinemas, and Schamoni spent [...] years wrestling with the project.

He originally studied literature, [...] and theatre history, and immersed [...]self in Schumann's life and work.

"Schumann's life was one big stru[...] over Klara, his own creativity and re[...]gnition. It was this permanent stru[...] that interested me more than the ro[...]tic love story of the composer and [...] pianist.

"Essentially, Schumann's stru[...] stands for the struggle of almost e[...] other artist."

Biding his time until his new f[...] Schamoni is working for other direc[...] including his brother Ulrich, for wh[...] he acted as producer for *Alle Jahre w[...]der* (Every Year Anew) in 1967.

Another film he produced was [...] Spil's comedy *Zur Sache Schätzc[...]* (Get to the Point, Darling) which ea[...] acclaim for both in 1968.

Margarete v. Schwarzkopf
(Die Welt, 16 Janua[...])

■ THE ARTS

Exhibition of sculpture for the blind

There are 40 exhibits in the first exhibition of sculpture for the blind in the Federal Republic of Germany.

It is a touring exhibition that cost DM30,000 to put together, donated to the South German Rehabilitation Centre for the Blind, Würzburg, by Munich Central Rotary Club.

It has already been seen and felt by blind and sighted people in a number of German cities. It was specially designed to tour without difficulty and to reach as many people as possible.

Johannes, 16, feels the face of a statue of Apollo. His fingers slowly, carefully trace the contours with utmost concentration.

"His eyes," he says, "are slightly protruding, which Greek sculptors used to indicate a radiant gaze. The corners of his mouth are upturned in a smile.

"His hair falls in thick locks on to his shoulders. So he's a young man, and will have been sculpted in about 500 BC."

Johannes has just left school and is training as a telephonist. He often visits the museum for the blind, usually together with his friend Peter.

Peter traces with his hands a head of Homer. "Eyes closed," he says. "The sculptor means that to say that Homer was blind."

An elderly sighted lady standing alongside them explains that in the ancient tales of many civilisations singers were blind, not just in Ancient Greece.

The aim was to indicate that the bards saw what mattered with their inner eye. Did the two boys find "looking" at the exhibits more trouble or pleasure?

"More pleasure by far," they agreed. The idea of sculpture for the blind arguably dates back to guided tours of the Glyptothek in Munich archaeologist Raimund Wünsche started many years ago.

Some of the blind visitors he showed round the museum, which is the most important collection of works of art from the Ancient World in the Federal Republic of Germany, came again and again.

Sculpture is the only art form of its kind they can learn to appreciate. The blind can hardly come to terms with painting, drawing or even bas-reliefs.

But Graeco-Roman sculpture gives them an idea of what people look like. They also, as they feel the expressive shapes, gain some idea of the happiness, consolation and satisfaction of experiencing a thing of beauty.

Handicaps also beset the Glyptothek tours. Many works of sculpture were out of reach on high pedestals for optical reasons.

Others could not be touched because of the risk that they might be irreparably



Blind youth finding out what a Roman warrior looked like.
(Photo: P. Frese)

damaged. Guided tours in groups were unsatisfactory as such for blind visitors.

The blind need individually to feel the statue, and they need to be able to take their time. "They trace sculpture with their hands like a reader trying to understand a work of difficult literature," Wünsche says.

He joined forces with students at Munich college for the blind to select and present the items in the small new model museum.

All exhibits are Graeco-Roman because sculptors in the Ancient World had a keen sense of the plastic rather than the mere painterly quality of their subjects.

No exhibits are larger than life. The hands that explore them lose their sense of proportion when trying to cover outsize objects.

Small items have the added advantage of tempting visitors to try and imitate them by modelling in clay themselves.

The blind find it easier to appreciate sculpture by means of comparison, differences then becoming more readily apparent.

So similar items are arranged alongside each other with clear educational intent, often so closely that one figure can be traced with the left hand, the other with the right.

Portrait busts are blind visitors' favourites. They make up most of the exhibits. There is, for instance, snub-nosed Socrates who taught people to think about themselves.

Then, alongside him, there is the tragedian Euripides with his straight and slender classical Greek nose.

There are characteristic busts of Roman emperors, such as the long, ethereal head of Augustus alongside those of Caesar, Nero and Caracalla.

Tape cassettes are provided as a guide to exhibits. They too deal with two, three or four related objects at a time. Each sculpture also has an inscription in Braille.

Visitors are encouraged to record the tapes on cassettes of their own. Wünsche wrote the texts in consultation with blind students.

To make texts easier to understand he had them read by different speakers so that listeners can clearly distinguish between the narrative and quotations or, say, lines of poetry.

Statues of women are invariably desscribed by women speakers.

When visitors come up against nudes they are told to imitate the statue's pose. That makes the idea easier to visualise.

Apollo of Tenea, for instance, stands with muscles tense, his hands clenched. His neighbour, the statue of a young man by Polycletus, stands in an entirely different pose.

He is gracefully walking, the weight of his body resting on his left leg forward, one arm raised, his head inclined in thought.

All exhibits are casts. The original works are in museums in Athens, Rome, Naples, Berlin and Munich.

It was far from easy to find a material suitable for conveying the right impression to sensitive fingers. Plaster casts, for instance, are too lightweight under pressure.

They lack the stone effect of the original marble. Wünsche settled for cast marble: fine-ground marble mixed with artificial resin.

It is a material that reproduces with deceptive accuracy the grain-like finish of the original.

Where the original statues were in bronze the problem was less serious. A reproduction bronze cast was made of them.

Anneliese Steinhoff
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21 January 1984)

Continued from page 10

West. He stuck to his critical approach with such films as *Rose Bernd*, *Das Lamm* and *Rosen für den Staatsanwalt*.

His switchover to pure entertainment film caused mockery among critics.

But Staudte's work for television, to which he devoted himself almost exclusively after 1970, was all above the norm.

An example was by his TV series *Die Pawlaks*, an impressive history of the Ruhr mining area.

Only a few insiders know that it was he who dubbed Stanley Kubrick's *Clockwork Orange*, a frightening vision of the future, in German.

He thus remained faithful to his interest in explosive subjects.

Michael Stenger
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 21 January 1984)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Dumped chemicals pose a nation-wide threat

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Altlasten ("old burdens") is the term blandly used by experts to denote the chemical time-bomb ticking away inside disused waste dumps all over Germany.

Toxins identified in a dump at Georgswerder, Hamburg, include E 605, a pesticide popular with crime novelists as a poison, and dioxin, the particularly lethal poison that laid waste to Seveso, Italy, some years ago.

The dump is 45 metres (148ft) tall. Chemical reactions are bubbling away inside, with temperatures of over 60°C (140°F).

No-one knows for sure how many substances the dump contains, and if it is true that unexploded bombs were dumped at Georgswerder, then the entire dump could fly sky-high.

Georgswerder is not an isolated instance. There are similar dumps in nearly every *Land*, and every dump contains countless substances unbeknown to either the authorities or the public.

Then there are disused factory sites on which dangerous substances ranging from tar oil and solvents to oils that contain dioxin are stored.

Only estimates exist of the number of such disused dumps. There could be 2,000 in Germany, a conference at Arnoldshain Protestant Academy, Bad Orb, has been told.

There could equally well be 20,000 or even, as some experts claim, 40,000 — and there is sure to be one near where all of us live.

It is hard to say whether all these dumps, assuming they were all located, are dangerous in their normal state, but problems are sure to arise if they start to leak, especially into the ground water.

That is why just about every disused waste dump and every disused chemical factory site can be suspected of being potentially dangerous.

Klaus Stief of the Environmental Protection Agency, West Berlin, outlined the possible dangers. People and animals could be endangered by direct contact with toxic materials (during construction work, for instance), while leaks could poison drinking water.

Something of the kind usually has to happen before we come to realise what an old waste dump conceals, or even to suspect its existence.

Herr Stief agreed with environmental and local government experts in Bad Orb that little or nothing is known about the nature and amount of waste dumped.

This is either because it was dumped illegally or because people realised at the time that dumping such substances was not the best way to dispose of them. So they kept quiet about it.

Records only had to be kept from the early 1970s when the Waste Disposal Act came into force. Industry, hauliers and the usually private owners of waste dumps didn't take the provision too seriously, and all concerned relied on grass growing over the entire business.

But the chickens are now coming home to roost. In many *Länder* the authorities are busy locating and cataloguing "old burdens" and keeping an eye on sites.

Hesse had probably made the most headway, said Carl-Otto Zubiller of the Wiesbaden Environmental Affairs Ministry, with the public being called on to help compile a full list of sites and assess the risks.

Detailed checks were undertaken in 96 cases. Action in time had been able to avert danger, or suspicions were found to be baseless.

There are many ways of treating a contaminated site. They range from "firming up" its foundations and building walls to separate danger zones from ordinary ground to excavating the entire site, decontaminating the waste and dumping it somewhere more suitable.

The last-named method is clearly the best. It is the one that has been demanded for the Georgswerder dump in Hamburg. But it is extremely expensive.

Johannes Jager of the Technical University, West Berlin, said each cubic metre of waste was likely to cost about DM500.

This method of dealing with the dump at Gerolsheim in the Rhineland-Palatinate, where dioxin and other lethal poisons were illegally dumped for years, would take years and cost an estimated DM1.5bn.

The toxic substances would have to be unearthed and shipped elsewhere, and there could be no guarantee that treatment would entail no danger.

The legal position is that the owner of the land is liable. Many waste disposal companies facing the prospect of liability have chosen to go bankrupt as a precaution.

That leaves the taxpayer holding the baby. It is virtually impossible to find out who is to blame because no records were kept and the operators are unlikely to volunteer information.

Have we at least learnt our lesson? It is hard to say. Regulations now provide for strict controls and there have been no "new" environmental scandals of late.

But, we are all subjected to creeping poisoning by environmental chemicals, according to Rainer Griesshammer of the Ecological Institute, Freiburg.

The situation, he said, would not really improve until the output of harmful substances was substantially reduced.

Herbert Fuehr

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 16 January 1984)

Air pollution: international steps essential

West Germany is responsible for slightly less than half of its atmospheric pollution. The rest comes from other countries.

By 1990 more than two thirds may be imported, and the pollution level will probably be largely unchanged.

This arlarming conclusion is reached in a report by the International Institute for the Environment and Society, a unit of the Scientific Research Centre in West Berlin.

The project was backed finanoially by the Scientific Research Association (DFG).

Pollution control in recent years has led to sulphur output declining slightly in built-up areas, whereas long-range, high-altitude pollution extending for thousands of miles has marked time.

In the long-range category an increase may even be expected for nitrous oxides.

The Berlin institute's Dr Volker Prittwitz says sulphur output in the Federal Republic will probably decline from 3,500 tons a year in 1980 to about 3,000 tons by 1990.

But other European countries will increase their output markedly. Several European countries, such as Poland, are pursuing a "tall chimney" policy that is, in the final analysis, to the Federal Republic's detriment.

Sulphur output is expected to increase from 64,035 kilotons in 1980 to 68,500 kilotons in 1990 in countries that are parties to the ECE convention on long-range international atmospheric pollution.

Nitrous oxide pollution is likely to increase too, given that many countries are embarking on a stage of industrialisation in which high combustion temperatures result in corresponding by-products.

Since atmospheric pollution is stored and amassed in the soil, plants and material, any such trend in European pollution would be catastrophic, the report says.

In Central Europe the highest level of sulphur dioxide emission in the GDR, followed by Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Britain.

The Federal Republic comes seventh, whereas for nitrous oxide the running is made by Holland, followed by Belgium, the Federal Republic and Britain, with the GDR and Czechoslovakia trailing well behind in sixth and eighth places.

The conclusion to be reached can only be that at national level an external environmental policy must be pursued that leads eventually to binding international agreements, possibly combined with technological and financial assistance.

But we are still a long way away from this target.

The Federal Republic as a "particularly seriously affected country" has lately made a number of international bids, just as the Scandinavian countries have sought to gain a hearing since the 1970s.

Moves have been made on desulphurising chimney-stack gas and on lead-free fuel, but there is neither a consistent approach nor clearly defined targets nor an effective means of getting things done.

So difficulties were a foregone conclusion, Dr Prittwitz said in presenting his findings.

As long as environmental affairs were dealt with by Interior Ministry officials and EPA staff as an afterthought, so to speak, and the Foreign Office had very little say in the matter, we would remain nowhere near an even partially satisfactory solution, he said.

Dr Prittwitz conceded, however, that the trend is moving from purely formal and non-binding arrangements to attempts to arrive at specific improvements.

(Handelsblatt, 25 January 1984)

Poison waste causes a burning issue

WELT am SONNTAG

Flue dust from incinerators has made headlines in Hamburg and Kiel with reports that it contains traces of dioxin, the Seveso poison.

In reality dioxin is a by-product at all 46 household garbage incinerators in the Federal Republic of Germany. It occurs when waste containing insecticides or impregnated wood is burnt.

It does so because domestic garbage incinerators burn waste at temperatures of only 800° and 1,400°C.

In an industrial incinerator dioxin would either be destroyed or not generated. At such high temperatures it is almost entirely broken down into carbon dioxide, water and hydrochloric acid.

Destruction of dioxin is no problem technically. The problem is a shortage of incineration capacity and lack of funds.

Incinerating a ton of domestic garbage costs about DM70, whereas a ton of industrial waste costs between DM400 and DM600 to incinerate.

Apart from facilities run by chemical companies there are only three large-scale industrial waste incinerators in the country.

One is in Ebenhausen, near Ingolstadt, and has an annual capacity of 60,000 tons. Another is in Herten, Westphalia, and has a capacity of 30,000 tons. The third is in Bibesheim, near Darmstadt, and has a capacity of 60,000 tons.

All three are technically capable of making dioxin harmless, but at present only Ebenhausen is officially allowed to.

The other two have been refused permission by the authorities for one reason or another.

Yet the need for ever greater dioxin treatment capacity grows increasingly urgent. Take the 14 million cubic metres of dioxin-contaminated waste at the Georgswerder dump in Hamburg.

It would take nearly 90 years to incinerate it at one of today's industrial waste incinerators, and at today's prices the operation would cost DM6.5bn.

More and more dioxin-contaminated dumps are likely to be identified in Germany. The regulations were unsatisfactory until well into the 1960s.

Even if all the regulations had been observed, more and more of the 40,000 dumps could still turn out to be contaminated.

That is because measurement techniques have been greatly improved in recent years. In years gone by dioxin concentrations at the Georgswerder level could not even have been measured.

The only hope industrial waste disposal experts have to offer in consolation is that technologically the Federal Republic of Germany is a world leader in treating toxic waste.

It shares this distinction with Denmark and Holland. Germany is as far ahead of the United States in treating waste as America is ahead of Germany in space research.

Hanns Jürgen Trochs

(Welt am Sonntag, 29 January 1984)

■ HEALTH

Cadmium: insidious march of an invisible poison

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

You can't see cadmium. You can't taste it or smell it. But it's there: everywhere, not only in nature but, in growing quantities, in the human body.

A survey by scientists of the department of pathological anatomy at Erlangen University seems to prove that cadmium is becoming an increasingly serious health hazard.

Professor Hans-Jürgen Pesch and his staff analysed the tissue of 96 corpses of people from the Nuremberg area to determine the toxin count accumulated.

Using an atomic absorption spectrophotometer dried body tissue was dissected and analysed.

Patients' files were then examined and relatives interviewed to find out whether the deceased had been heavy smokers.

The renal cortex of one patient was found to contain 55 parts of cadmium per million, which may not sound alarming given that the World Health Organisation in 1977 set the danger level at 200 parts per million.

But Professor Pesch's interpretation of the findings makes it impossible to dismiss them as harmless.

The cadmium count in the tissue of 30-year-olds is as high as in that of 70-year-olds, which would seem to prove that cadmium contamination has occurred mainly over the past 15 years.

He puts forward two arguments that bear out this inference. One is that a comparable post-war survey impressively showed the cadmium count in the human body to have been on the decline in those days.

Nowadays cadmium is found in the larynx, then a higher concentration in the lungs, bladder and liver, and the highest count of all in the kidneys.

Professor Pesch is critical of earlier probes for often not having distinguished between the medulla of the kidney and the renal cortex, with the result that high cadmium counts tended to be dangerously evened out.

The cortex of the kidney is now known to contain on average twice as much cadmium as the medulla.

What is more, annual world production of cadmium has steadily increased. In 1900 it was a mere 14 tons a year. The total now is roughly 17,000 tons, and that doesn't even include the East bloc, for which figures are not available.

A fifth of the world's cadmium requirements is produced and consumed in the Federal Republic of Germany. It is used in zinc foundries, in paint manufacture, as an anti-corrosive and for car batteries.

Cadmium is contained in the smoke from power station chimney stacks. It also occurs in cigarette smoke, which is why the Erlangen survey took such pains to distinguish between smoker and non-smokers.

As smokers inhale about 50 per cent of the cadmium in tobacco, the cadmium count in the renal cortex, the body's danger zone in this context, is on average four times higher than for non-smokers.

Yet non-smokers are by no means out of harm's way. They still have an intake of five to ten per cent of noxious cadmium particles via the food cycle.

They can poison body cells and have a cumulative effect. Cadmium is constantly built up in the body and can only partly be excreted in the natural way.

Cadmium in the food cycle is a particularly sad story, Professor Pesch says. Contaminated sewage sludge is used as fertiliser, inedible grain is fed to cattle, and offal or pluck is eaten by humans.

It really does seem to be a vicious circle. Cadmium has even been identified in a number of domestic varieties of edible mushroom, while fish meal is often cadmium-enriched.

Professor Pesch used fish as an early warning system in previous research work. Surface whitefish from Lake Constance were shown to suffer from deformed backbones and ankylosis as a result of cadmium poisoning.

Similar deformities have already been observed in rainbow trout and cod. This was one of the reasons why the 96 post-mortems were conducted.

Another was a research project dealing with cancer of the upper respiratory tract he is working on in collaboration with Dr Wolfgang Steiner of the ear, nose and throat clinic at the University Hospital.

Cadmium is also transmitted via the atmosphere, of course. It sticks to dust particles and contributes toward soil pollution somewhere or other, always assuming it is not inhaled first.

A risk patient as defined by Professor Pesch is a heavy smoker (especially of certain brands of cigarette) who lives near factory chimneys (in the Ruhr, say) or a dying forest and eats a fair amount of cadmium-contaminated food.

The Nuremberg area, he says, is still a cadmium-free oasis, but its days may be numbered. In a few years' time the danger level seems sure to be reached.

It has already been exceeded in other parts of the country.

To forestall a "landscape and human holocaust" Professor Pesch, who is still a smoker himself, has outlined political demands that are unusually trenchant for a scientist.

Every cigarette packet ought to list details not only of the nicotine and tar content but also of the cadmium count.

Everyone who dies of a kidney disease ought to be given a post-mortem to determine his cadmium count.

Drastic cuts in toxin emission and a countrywide network of measuring stations are, he says, essential as an immediate measure.

Cutbacks in the production and consumption of cadmium ought to be envisaged wherever economically conceivable.

Environmental levies and tax incentives to encourage private environmental investments such as pollution control systems for motor vehicles and solar panels for heating and light must be provided to persuade everyone to help save nature.

Professor Pesch's survey and findings have created a stir. After a TV appearance he was asked by the Federal Health Agency for details of the project.

Maybe this marks the beginning of a large-scale and, at long last, serious campaign against the damage cadmium does.

Wolfgang Stöckel

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 24 January 1984)

What's in a loaf?

Scientists at the Federal Grain Processing Institute in Detmold, Westphalia, test bread for nutritional value. More than 200 varieties of bread are regularly put through their paces. (Photo: Globuspress)

Changes in medical student training are urged

What we need, says Munich pharmacologist Wolfgang Forth, is doctors capable of dealing intelligently with medicines.

He made his plea for what he called rational therapy at at conference in Darmstadt.

He would like to see a change in the training given to medical students, who as be sees it are taught with too great an emphasis on anatomical and pathological disciplines.

The hopeless neglect of biological processes must be ended. Doctors were legally required to take refresher courses throughout their careers; maybe this obligation could be enforced by political means.

The topic of the conference was how the body reacted to medicines. The old favourite "to be taken three times daily" was called into question.

The body has been shown by recent research findings to react much more sensitively to drug and food intake than is generally imagined.

External influences such as alcohol, smoking, the Pill, other medicines, and polychlorinated hydrocarbons such as DDT can bring about a lasting change in the body.

The time of day or night also plays a part in the effect of both medicine and food on the body.

A wide range of examples was outlined to the conference. Contrary to established tenets of nutrition theory, Professor Forth said, it was by no means immaterial when food was eaten.

An equal amount of food had different effects: "If you eat in the morning you will lose weight; if you wait until evening you will put weight on."

He referred to new findings in the United States proving that both the number of calories consumed and the way in which they are consumed matter.

That was because of changes in chemical conversion processes in the body. The metabolism is run by a finely tuned system of body substances, the enzymes. But it can be affected by external influences.

An enzyme by the name of Cytrochrome P-450, for instance, is responsible for converting medicines.

But a number of drugs, such as barbiturates, have such a lasting effect on it that the effect of other medicines can be changed.

When epileptics took barbiturates alongside other medicines their effect, Dr Herbert Diekmann told the conference, was reduced considerably.

This phenomenon, which can amount to a dangerous reduction in the protection medicines afford, has been shown to occur in connection with the Pill.

Six women out of a group of 88 suffering from TB became pregnant in spite of taking oral contraceptives, and some of the group suffered from frequent intermediate bleeding too.

All had been treated with rifampicin, an antibiotic that has been found to be effective in dealing with tuberculosis.

But on closer scrutiny it proved to be a substance that accelerated reduction of the hormones (oestrogens and gestagens) in the Pill.

The normal hormone dose was no longer enough to ensure contraception.

About 30 agents are already known to affect a medicine in the body in this way. Similar effects are caused by too much aslcohol (over 60 grams of pure alcohol per day for men and over 20 grams for women), smoking and polychlorinated hydrocarbons.

The result is acceleration of enzyme production and changes in the speed at which enzymes are expelled. Serious side-effects can occur.

Pharmacogenetics as a relatively new discipline has also made scientists more keenly aware of individual reaction patterns, Professor Michel Eichelbaum, from Bonn, said.

By virtue of differences in individual genetic make-up, he said, identical drugs could have different effects and side-effects on different patients. Doses should depend on the patient.

Variations in day and night rhythm have also been found to be significant in the effect medicines have.

Asthma attacks, for instance, often occur in the afternoon and early evening. "What we need is doctors for whom the dosage 'three times daily' is no longer a dogma," he concluded.

Klaus Dallibor

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 31 January 1984)

■ SOCIETY

Bhagwan movement opens its discos despite opposition

DIE WELT

The people who pay the DM5 admission for an evening at Bielefeld's "Zorba the Buddha Rajneesh Disco" differ from the usual disco-goers.

Many are past the first flush of youth. They drive expensive cars and wear business suits rather than jeans and sweaters. The women's dresses come from expensive boutiques.

The music is also different: waltzes and tangos rather than rock and reggae.

Newspapers describe the Bhagwan discotheque as the nicest, cheapest and most popular in Bielefeld.

The lighting is mainly in shades of red. Ceiling and walls are white, the furniture dark blue; and plants, flowers and mirrors abound. There are no dark corners and the sound level is low.

Many of the visitors come out of curiosity about the saffron-robed owners of the establishment whose brown neck chains carry the image of their guru, Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh.

The whole thing began when the Bielefeld city authorities gave in to complaints about the lack of night life in a city of 315,000 and authorised another discotheque.

Star hairdresser Michael Rosinski had bought the well-known but no longer fashionable "Ratscafé" which he decided to tear down and replace by a business complex with boutiques, art galleries, florists, a bakery, a Chinese restaurant and, of course, a hairdressing salon.

A discotheque in the basement soon ran into financial problems. This gave the the Bhagwan people the chance they were after.

They took over the lease in a bid to get the discotheque back on its feet, as they had done with other businesses in Eastern Westphalia.

But before the 60 or so Bielefeld sanyassin (as the Bhagwan followers call themselves) were able to open their "Zorba the Buddha Rajneesh Disco" they had to fight it out in court.

The opposition was spearheaded by the CDU which had joined forces with its main political opponent, the SPD.

The CDU-SPD coalition was joined by the retailers association, representatives of business, the catering industry and the churches.

They feared that young people might be led astray and demanded that the city use all legal means to avert the "red menace".

The sanyassin went on the offensive, saying that they do not proselytise and that drugs are strictly forbidden.

Business and the catering people feared that the followers with their music and collection boxes would spoil the city's image and, above all, that they would harm business.

The sanyassin denied charges that they pay neither social security contributions nor minimum wages and that they ignore regulations on working hours: "We're all one big family," they said.

Wages earned by individual members go into the family kitty and, besides, they do not work for money but for love. All members of the family have enough pocket money.

They concede that they are interested neither in the trade unions nor in a works council.

And they reject church accusations that the Bhagwan movement was anti-family, that it destroyed personalities, endangered youth and promoted psychological dependence: "We get attacked, but nobody tries to talk with us."

In the end, the city gave in and granted the disco licence.

The sanyassin presented themselves to the local police, asked to be made members of the Bielefeld Catering Association. They showered officials with flowers.

The city council felt that, in view of the mood, it had to give a reason for granting the licence, and it issued a public statement:

"The application was considered solely in the light of trading considerations, and there was no scope for discretionary powers ... The licence for the discotheque is not a seal of approval for the religious and other activities of the Bhagwan movement."

The movement has been meeting with much difficulty in Germany.

Wiesbaden rejected a disco application and the rejection was upheld in a lower court.

The council argued that the licence would endanger public order "because the Bhagwan movement is not Christian."

A higher court reversed the ruling on the grounds that the German Constitution does not require business activities to be compatible with Christianity.

The Bhagwan movement's worst struggles have been in Hanover and Düsseldorf.

In Hanover, it made a successful bid to buy the "Musik Palast," Germany's third largest discotheque. But then it met with opposition from a unique assortment of bedfellows: the German Communist Party, CDU, FDP and SPD, plus the two major churches.

Despite this, the sanyassin were given a temporary licence. Their disco opened in early January.

In Düsseldorf, the barrage against the sanyassin was joined by a cabinet member; and the council is now pressing breweries into boycotting the movement and its ninth "Zorba the Buddha Rajneesh Disco".

The authorities even went so far as to announce that the sanyassin would never get a licence.

But the toughness of the authorities and the resulting publicity has had the opposite of the desired effect: Sanyassin shops, resturants and discotheques nationwide are crowded, cash registers are ringing and the tide of people flocking to their meditation centres is rising.

Walter H. Rueh

(Die Welt, 21 January 1984)



Waltzing at Bhagwan's

(Photos: Jürgen Volkr...)

Socialising under benevolent gaze.

Parental confusion a cause of problems in children

Many parents don't know how to bring up their children and the wide range of publications on the subject only makes them more confused. The results of the parents' failure are behavioural problems in the children.

This was one of the conclusions at the 9th West German Psychotherapy Seminar in Aachen.

The 800 delegates were were told that parents feel impotent and often capitulate in the face of modern trends: There are the downgrading of traditional moral values and conflicting child-rearing methods.

There is the trend towards self-realisation ("with its negative effects already in evidence"). And there is the flood of sensory perception and drug addiction in a society caught between affluence and performance drive on the one hand and, on the other, an opting out mentality.

Even experts are faced with a dilemma: should they give in to the tendency to make the child an interesting subject of scientific research or should they continue to rely on their subjective and emotional experience.

Child and youth psychiatrist Professor Thea Schönfelder suggested an "old-fashioned approach." Parents should once more become examples.

An example, she told the meeting, is "something alive, something I can visualise" rather than an abstract image "w... which to identify oneself for part of t... way without becoming dependent."

She contrasted this with the fleeti... ness of TV images and a world of p... ters and advertising. The person, ... said, has been replaced by a visual i... age which she likened to "the packag... that often fails to reveal the contents ... by an empty idol.

True to the tenet "it's all there for t... taking," people are taught to take ra... than (mentally) grasp.

This has led to the emergence of wh... Professor Schönfelder called "mini... people" and prevented the formation ... an identity.

Adults, she suggested, are only th... who do not succumb to the grow... trend of "infantilisation of grown up... (mothers want to be younger than th... daughters) and "who are capable of f... ding a common denominator for th... foibles."

She sees a major danger in "peo... becoming lost as people and tu... into stooges for the experts." They ... their personal responsibility to a tech... logical world and "train their childre... do the same."

But only those who do not ensure ... there is order within themselves ca... manipulated.

"Saying that they are being manipu... ed is an easy way out for those who ... too lazy or too timid to make their ... decisions."

Professor Theodor Hellbrügge, he... of the Child Centre in Munich, said ... Germany was the country most ho... to children and that it had the wor... lowest birth rate.

One in six pregnancies ends in ab... tion, and 70 per cent of these abortio... are carried out for social reasons in t... world's richest country, he said.

He said that German upbring... ideals were centred around a wro... understood drive for self-realisation ... sentimental egocentrism."

Yet children in Germany get ... the best starts because of modern me... cine.

He pointed out that in 1830, 91 p... cent of children died before reaching ... age of 10 compared with three per ... in 1970. He also described the li... standard of Germany's children as ... highest in the world.

"The children of skilled workers ...

Continued on page 15

■ YOUTH

Pep pills given to improve school results

DIE WELT

Between 25 and 35 per cent of primary and secondary school students regularly take pep pills, says Walter Bärsch, president of the Child Protection Society.

The idea is to improve school performance and the obvious question is: Is the pill abuse due to performance pressure at school or to parental failure?

The extent of the problem is shown by a study prepared by the Federal Centre for Health Information: 36 per cent of parents are prepared to use drugs to improve their children's performance at school. And they do it on a grand scale.

A survey shows that 17.3 per cent of the 790 school beginners involved were given psychopharmaca on one or more occasions.

A conspicuous fact is that the drugs were the same as those used by the mothers.

Würzburg child psychiatrist Professor Gerd Nissen says doctors are increasingly being consulted on school entry, promotion and changing of schools. They are also asked to solve problems involving school stress, exam jitters, inability to concentrate and truancy.

Professor Nissen says the problems have increased since education reforms.

"What decides university entry and a successful career today is specific school performance rather than personality and character."

The situation has now also come under massive attack from the Child Protection Society. Walter Bärsch speaks of a "scandalous development."

Doctors say pills cannot solve problems at school.

One question is whether the parents need treatment more than their children.

A small proportion of children with learning difficulties have brain malfunctions requiring intensive medical care.

Their performance is frequently hampered by the inability to concentrate, fidgeting and deficiencies in certain sectors, says Professor Nissen.

Experts differentiate between hereditary learning difficulties and those due to brain malfunctioning or environmental shortcomings.

Some ten per cent of schoolchildren are estimated to have such difficulties.

There have been repeated warnings against the uncontrolled consumption of socalled concentration and learning pills.

Exam nerves are now often suppressed by betablockers and a good night's sleep is ensured with sleeping pills.

The indiscriminate use of pills virtually programmes drug and narcotics abuse in later life.

Jochen Aumiller

(Die Welt, 10 January 1984)

Substitute for courts and punishment brings results

A North Rhine Westphalian town has had such success with a pilot project to substitute educational measures for punishment for some crimes that consideration is being given to extending the system.

In the first year of the project, in Marl, the relapse rate has dropped from 30 per cent to nine per cent, says a youth authority official, Hermann Beckmann.

He says one of the main reasons is that the maximum time between crime and hearing is three weeks.

That means that the offence is still fresh in the mind of the offender. The normal legal process takes five to six months. The offender is no longer able to relate the punishment to the crime and there is tremendous psychological strain.

The Marl project educational measures include traffic lectures, work at youth centres, old people's homes or with animals.

Usually, a juvenile who has been charged will appear before a juvenile court, regardless of whether he has a record or not.

The police prepare the case, forward it to the public prosecutor, who presses charges.The defendent is either found guilty and punished, or is acquitted.

Beckmann says this procedure often leads to family dramas. Parents suddenly see their children as criminals. Other young people call them *knackis* or jailbirds.

Young people never previously in trouble become stigmatised because of an isolated window breaking or shoplifting incident.

And since it usually takes five to six months between the crime and sentence, the offender is no longer able to fit the punishment to the crime.

Beckmann: "He loses his awareness of having done something wrong. There is a build-up of fear and tension, resulting in intolerable psychological strain."

The pattern can lead to a career in crime.

Beckmann developed his Marl model in close cooperation with the public prosecutor and the police.

In prevalent cases as shoplifting, vandalism and driving without a licence, the police no longer automatically forward the case to the prosecutor. Instead, they send the juvenile and his parents to the *Jugendgerichtshilfe*.

If the culprit admits what he has done and volunteers to work for some social institution or attend a traffic education course, the matter is settled.

The pilot project only became possible when the North Rhine-Westphalian Interior Ministry agreed to cooperate by dropping some of the red tape.

In the normal course, police regulations say that a case may be referred to the youth authority instead of the court only if "there is evidence that the juvenile is endangered."

And even then this applies only if the file has already been sent to the prosecutor's office, at which point it is nearly impossible to prevent charges being pressed.

The Ministry has waived this for Marl.

Since the *Jugendgerichtshilfe* is now the first to be informed and usually imposes some socially relevant work, the prosecutor need not press charges.

Only 15 of 165 offenders under the project in Marl have relapsed.

Beckmann says that because the maximum time lapse between the crime and the educational measure is three weeks, offenders are still conscious of their crime. They do their "atonement work" without much complaining.

"They are much more motivated than those who have been sentenced by a court to do the same work," says Karla Arend, head of the Hülsberg Youth Centre.

Impressed by the success of the Marl model, North Rhine-Westphalia's justice minister is now considering extending the experiment to include other crimes, such as assault and battery.

Former Justice Minister Inge Donnepp: "You cannot use heavy artillery against sparrows."

The City of Gladbeck has announced its intention to introduce a similar scheme.

(Die Zeit, 27 January 1984)

Continued from page 14

under the same conditions as those of European royalty 100 years ago, "he said.

Professor Hellbrügge also criticised anti-family policies, the child allowance which he described as laughable, discrimination against big families and thinking in terms of entitlement.

His conclusion: "Unless we change our way of thinking and make use of our optimal conditions, our society will die a gruesome death."

He also drew attention to the accelerated development of children, their early puberty and the fact that this, along with the intellectual development, sets in earlier in girls than in boys.

He described co-education for children of the same age as "unjust towards boys."

Professor Peter Strunk, head of the Freiburg University Clinic for Child and Youth Psychiatry, said that there are three times as many couples prepared to adopt children than there are children available for adoption.

He warned prospective adoptive parents of illusions and the belief that they would get "little princesses from the Far East."

Adoptive parents should realise that they could well wind up with a problem child whose early history is unknown.

Adopted children usually do better than those who grow up in institutions, but they are more prone to illness. They also find it more difficult to acquire an identity.

He stressed that adoption presupposes maturity. Prospective parents must be willing to make sacrifices.

Professor Strunk also dealt with the children of divorced parents, saying that the final arrangement was based on mutual agreement in 80 per cent of cases.

He put the number of children affected by divorce at 80,000 a year.

In arranging visiting rights, judges must take into account that a child that is forced to see an unloved parent is driven into emotional conflict.

The result is growing antipathy and estrangement, he said.

Änne Bräuer

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 17 January 1984)

■ SOCIETY

Bhagwan movement opens its discos despite opposition

DIE WELT

The people who pay the DM5 admission for an evening at Bielefeld's "Zorba the Buddha Rajneesh Disco" differ from the usual disco-goers.

Many are past the first flush of youth. They drive expensive cars and wear business suits rather than jeans and sweaters. The women's dresses come from expensive boutiques.

The music is also different: waltzes and tangos rather than rock and reggae.

Newspapers describe the Bhagwan discotheque as the nicest, cheapest and most popular in Bielefeld.

The lighting is mainly in shades of red. Ceiling and walls are white, the furniture dark blue; and plants, flowers and mirrors abound. There are no dark corners and the sound level is low.

Many of the visitors come out of curiosity about the saffron-robed owners of the establishment whose brown neck chains carry the image of their guru, Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh.

The whole thing began when the Bielefeld city authorities gave in to complaints about the lack of night life in a city of 315,000 and authorised another discotheque.

Star hairdresser Michael Rosinski had bought the well-known but no longer fashionable "Ratscafé" which he decided to tear down and replace by a business complex with boutiques, art galleries, florists, a bakery, a Chinese restaurant and, of course, a hairdressing salon.

A discotheque in the basement soon ran into financial problems. This gave the the Bhagwan people the chance they were after.

They took over the lease in a bid to get the discotheque back on its feet, as they had done with other businesses in Eastern Westphalia.

But before the 60 or so Bielefeld sanyassin (as the Bhagwan followers call themselves) were able to open their "Zorba the Buddha Rajneesh Disco" they had to fight it out in court.

The opposition was spearheaded by the CDU which had joined forces with its main political opponent, the SPD.

The CDU-SPD coalition was joined by the retailers association, representatives of business, the catering industry and the churches.

They feared that young people might be led astray and demanded that the city use all legal means to avert the "red menace".

The sanyassin went on the offensive, saying that they do not proselytise and that drugs are strictly forbidden.

Business and the catering people feared that the followers with their music and collection boxes would spoil the city's image and, above all, that they would harm business.

The sanyassin denied charges that they pay neither social security contributions nor minimum wages and that they ignore regulations on working hours: "We're all one big family," they said.

Wages earned by individual members go into the family kitty and, besides, they do not work for money but for love. All members of the family have enough pocket money.

They concede that they are interested neither in the trade unions nor in a works council.

And they reject church accusations that the Bhagwan movement was anti-family, that it destroyed personalities, endangered youth and promoted psychological dependence: "We get attacked, but nobody tries to talk with us."

In the end, the city gave in und granted the disco licence.

The sanyassin presented themselves to the local police, asked to be made members of the Bielefeld Catering Association. They showered officials with flowers.

The city council felt that, in view of the mood, it had to give a reason for granting the licence, and it issued a public statement:

"The application was considered solely in the light of trading considerations, and there was no scope for discretionary powers ... The licence for the discotheque is not a seal of approval for the religious and other activities of the Bhagwan movement."

The movement has been meeting with much difficulty in Germany.

Wiesbaden rejected a disco application and the rejection was upheld in a lower court.

The council argued that the licence would endanger public order "because the Bhagwan movement is not Christian."

A higher court reversed the ruling on the grounds that the German Constitution does not require business activities to be compatible with Christianity.

The Bhagwan movement's worst struggles have been in Hanover and Düsseldorf.

In Hanover, it made a successful bid to buy the "Musik Palast," Germany's third largest discotheque. But then it met with opposition from a unique assortment of bedfellows: the German Communist Party, CDU, FDP and SPD, plus the two major churches.

Despite this, the sanyassin were given a temporary licence. Their disco opened in early January.

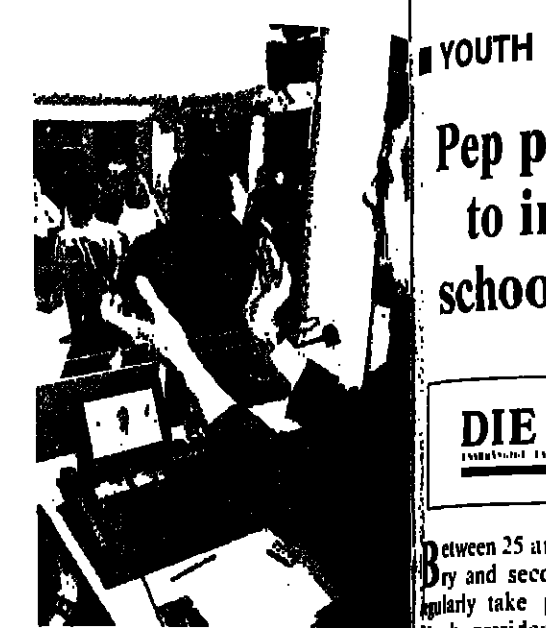
In Düsseldorf, the barrage against the sanyassin was joined by a cabinet member; and the council is now pressing breweries into boycotting the movement and its ninth "Zorba the Buddha Rajneesh Disco".

The authorities even went so far as to announce that the sanyassin would never get a licence.

But the toughness of the authorities and the resulting publicity has had the opposite of the desired effect: Sanyassin shops, resturants and discotheques nationwide are crowded, cash registers are ringing and the tide of people flocking to their meditation centres is rising.

Walter H. Rueb
(Die Welt, 21 January 1984)

Socialising under benevolent gaze.



Waltzing at Bhagwan's
(Photos: Jürgen Volle)



Parental confusion a cause of problems in children

Many parents don't know how to bring up their children and the wide range of publications on the subject only makes them more confused. The results of the parents' failure are behavioural problems in the children.

This was one of the conclusions at the 9th West German Psychotherapy Seminar in Aachen.

The 800 delegates were were told that parents feel impotent and often capitulate in the face of modern trends: There are the downgrading of traditional moral values and conflicting child-rearing methods.

There is the trend towards self-realisation ("with its negative effects already in evidence"). And there is the flood of sensory perception and drug addiction in a society caught between affluence and performance drive on the one hand and, on the other, an opting out mentality.

Even experts are faced with a dilemma: should they give in to the tendency to make the child an interesting subject of scientific research or should they continue to rely on their subjective and emotional experience.

Child and youth psychiatrist Professor Thea Schönfelder suggested an "old-fashioned approach." Parents should once more become examples.

An example, she told the meeting, is "something alive, something I can visualise" rather than an abstract image "with which to identify oneself for part of the way without becoming dependent."

She contrasted this with the fleetingness of TV images and a world of posters and advertising. The person, she said, has been replaced by a visual image which she likened to "the package that often fails to reveal the contents" or by an empty idol.

True to the tenet "it's all there for the taking," people are taught to take rather than (mentally) grasp.

This has led to the emergence of what Professor Schönfelder called "mis... people" and prevented the formation of an identity.

Adults, she suggested, are only those who do not succumb to the growing trend of "infantilisation of grown-ups" (mothers want to be younger than their daughters) and "who are capable of finding a common denominator for their foibles."

She sees a major danger in "people becoming lost as people and turned into stooges for the experts." They ... their personal responsibility to a technological world and "train their children to do the same."

But only those who do not ensure there is order within themselves can be manipulated.

"Saying that they are being manipulated is an easy way out for those who are too lazy or too timid to make their own decisions."

Professor Theodor Hellbrügge, head of the Child Centre in Munich, said ... Germany was the country most hostile to children and that it had the world's lowest birth rate.

One in six pregnancies ends in abortion, and 70 per cent of these abortions are carried out for social reasons in the world's richest country, he said.

He said that German upbringing ideals were centred around a wrongly understood drive for self-realisation, ... sentimental egocentrism."

Yet children in Germany get one of the best starts because of modern medicine.

He pointed out that in 1830, 50 per cent of children died before reaching the age of 10 compared with three per cent in 1970. He also described the ... standard of Germany's children as the highest in the world.

"The children of skilled workers ...

Continued on page 15

■ YOUTH

Pep pills given to improve school results

DIE WELT

Between 25 and 35 per cent of primary and secondary school students regularly take pep pills, says Walter Bärsch, president of the Child Protection Society.

The idea is to improve school performance and the obvious question is: Is the pill abuse due to performance pressure at school or to parental failure?

The extent of the problem is shown by a study prepared by the Federal Centre for Health Information: 36 per cent of parents are prepared to use drugs to improve their children's performance at school. And they do it on a grand scale.

A survey shows that 17.3 per cent of the 790 school beginners involved were given psychopharmaca on one or more occasions.

A conspicuous fact is that the drugs were the same as those used by the mothers.

Würzburg child psychiatrist Professor Gerd Nissen says doctors are increasingly being consulted on school entry, promotion and changing of schools. They are also asked to solve problems involving school stress, exam jitters, inability to concentrate and truancy.

Professor Nissen says the problems have increased since education reforms.

"What decides university entry and a successful career today is specific school performance rather than personality and character."

The situation has now also come under massive attack from the Child Protection Society. Walter Bärsch speaks of a "scandalous development."

Doctors say pills cannot solve problems at school.

One question is whether the parents need treatment more than their children.

A small proportion of children with learning difficulties have brain malfunctions requiring intensive medical care.

Their performance is frequently hampered by the inability to concentrate, fidgeting and deficiencies in certain sectors, says Professor Nissen.

Experts differentiate between hereditary learning difficulties and those due to brain malfunctioning or environmental shortcomings.

Some ten per cent of schoolchildren are estimated to have such difficulties.

There have been repeated warnings against the uncontrolled consumption of socalled concentration and learning pills.

Exam nerves are now often suppressed by betablockers and a good night's sleep is ensured with sleeping pills.

The indiscriminate use of pills virtually programmes drug and narcotics abuse in later life.

Jochen Aumiller
(Die Welt, 10 January 1984)

Substitute for courts and punishment brings results

A North Rhine Westphalian town has had such success with a pilot project to substitute educational measures for punishment for some crimes that consideration is being given to extending the system.

In the first year of the project, in Marl, the relapse rate has dropped from 30 per cent to nine per cent, says a youth authority official, Hermann Beckmann.

He says one of the main reasons is that the maximum time between crime and hearing is three weeks.

That means that the offence is still fresh in the mind of the offender. The normal legal process takes five to six months. The offender is no longer able to relate the punishment to the crime and there is tremendous psychological strain.

The Marl project educational measures include traffic lectures, work at youth centres, old people's homes or with animals.

Usually, a juvenile who has been charged will appear before a juvenile court, regardless of whether he has a record or not.

The police prepare the case, forward it to the public prosecutor, who presses charges.The defendent is either found guilty and punished, or is acquitted.

Beckmann says this procedure often leads to family dramas. Parents suddenly see their children as criminals. Other young people call them *knackis* or jailbirds.

Young people never previously in trouble become stigmatised because of an isolated window breaking or shoplifting incident.

And since it usually takes five to six months between the crime and sentence, the offender is no longer able to fit the punishment to the crime.

Beckmann: "He loses his awareness of having done something wrong. There is a build-up of fear and tension, resulting in intolerable psychological strain."

The pattern can lead to a career in crime.

Beckmann developed his Marl model in close cooperation with the public prosecutor and the police.

In prevalent cases as shoplifting, vandalism and driving without a licence, the police no longer automatically forward the case to the prosecutor. Instead, they send the juvenile and his parents to the *Jugendgerichtshilfe*.

If the culprit admits what he has done and volunteers to work for some social institution or attend a traffic education course, the matter is settled.

The pilot project only became possible when the North Rhine-Westphalian Interior Ministry agreed to cooperate by dropping some of the red tape.

In the normal course, police regulations say that a case may be referred to the youth authority instead of the court only if "there is evidence that the juvenile is endangered."

And even then this applies only if the file has already been sent to the prosecutor's office, at which point it is nearly impossible to prevent charges being pressed.

The Ministry has waived this for Marl.

Since the *Jugendgerichtshilfe* is now the first to be informed and usually imposes some socially relevant work, the prosecutor need not press charges.

Only 15 of 165 offenders under the project in Marl have relapsed.

Beckmann says that because the maximum time lapse between the crime and the educational measure is three weeks, offenders are still conscious of their crime. They do their "atonement work" without much complaining.

"They are much more motivated than those who have been sentenced by a court to do the same work," says Karla Arend, head of the Hülsberg Youth Centre.

Impressed by the success of the Marl model, North Rhine-Westphalia's justice minister is now considering extending the experiment to include other crimes, such as assault and battery.

Former Justice Minister Inge Donnepp: "You cannot use heavy artillery against sparrows."

The City of Gladbeck has announced its intention to introduce a similar scheme.

(Die Zeit, 27 January 1984)

Continued from page 14

under the same conditions as those of European royalty 100 years ago, "he said.

Professor Hellbrügge also criticised anti-family policies, the child allowance which he described as laughable, discrimination against big families and thinking in terms of entitlement.

His conclusion: "Unless we change our way of thinking and make use of our optimal conditions, our society will die a gruesome death."

He also drew attention to the accelerated development of children, their early puberty and the fact that this, along with the intellectual development, sets in earlier in girls than in boys.

He described co-education for children of the same age as "unjust towards boys."

Professor Peter Strunk, head of the Freiburg University Clinic for Child and Youth Psychiatry, said that there are three times as many couples prepared to adopt children than there are children available for adoption.

He warned prospective adoptive parents of illusions and the belief that they would get "little princesses from the Far East."

Adoptive parents should realise that they could well wind up with a problem child whose early history is unknown.

Adopted children usually do better than those who grow up in institutions, but they are more prone to illness. They also find it more difficult to acquire an identity.

He stressed that adoption presupposes maturity. Prospective parents must be willing to make sacrifices.

Professor Strunk also dealt with the children of divorced parents, saying that the final arrangement was based on mutual agreement in 80 per cent of cases.

He put the number of children affected by divorce at 80,000 a year.

In arranging visiting rights, judges must take into account that a child that is forced to see an unloved parent is driven into emotional conflict.

The result is growing antipathy and estrangement, he said.

Änne Bräuer
(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 17 January 1984)